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THE CHORUS IN THE GERMAN DRAMA

THE HISTORY OF THE CHORUS IN THE GERMAN DRAMA

BY

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AMS PRESS, INC.
NEW YORK
1966

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Original Publisher, 1966

AMS PRESS, INC.
New York, N.Y. 10003
1966

Manufactured in the United States of America

Accepted for publication on behalf of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures of Columbia University.

CALVIN THOMAS

New York, May 15, 1912.

PREFACE

A chorus of some kind occurs with more or less frequency throughout the whole history of the German drama. The great mysteries or pageants of medieval Germany had their origin in a church chorus, and for a considerable period of their evolution were vitally connected with this chorus. In the sixteenth century enthusiasm for the New Learning was brought from Italy into Germany and gave rise to the era of the Latin school-comedy and the Reformation drama with choral odes between the acts. In the seventeenth century the Renaissance drama of France and Holland was introduced, and the Senecan chorus became an essential part of the drama. With this century the chorus as a recognized part of dramatic technic passed out of existence, but admiration for all things Greek led, in the eighteenth century, to a renewed interest in the chorus. Its value and significance for the drama were discussed by many dramatists, and in a few cases it was used by way of experiment. During the Romantic period the chorus, with the exception of a few sporadic instances, again disappears, only to reappear, in the middle of the nineteenth century, in a new form, that of the orchestra in the music dramas of Richard Wagner.

Although the chorus is found in every period of German literature it is not possible to trace a definite line of development. The chorus of one century did not evolve out of the chorus of the preceding century, but in each case the chorus was brought into Germany under the direct influence of some foreign literature.

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the chorus as used by the German dramatists; to point out the important differences in the method of treatment in the works of authors of different periods and under different literary conditions; and in the light of these investigations to account for the failure to make the chorus an essential part of the technic of

the drama. This examination is limited to the original dramas in which the chorus appears. All discussion of the chorus in translations, paraphrases, or in the various "Festspiele," "Singspiele" and operas of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has been omitted.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Calvin Thomas for good counsel and helpful criticism in the writing of this dissertation. My sincere thanks are also due to Professor William H. Carpenter, Professor William A. Hervey, and Professor Arthur F. J. Remy of the Germanic Department, and Professor James Egbert of the Department of Classical Philology for their kind interest in my work at all times.

New York, April 8, 1912.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

An exhaustive study of the history of the chorus in the German drama is impossible without taking into consideration the development which the original Greek chorus underwent in the Roman, Italian, French, Dutch and English drama before it was brought into Germany in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For, owing to the break in the history of German literature during the Thirty Years' War and the breach caused by the essentially different comprehension of the drama that resulted from the teachings of Lessing, the dramatists of one century were not influenced by those of the preceding century, but in each case the introduction of the chorus was due to an influx of foreign ideas.

Greek drama,[1] originating as it did in the primitive hymns sung by the rustic revellers at the rural festivals in honor of Dionysus, the god of wine, was in its earliest form entirely lyrical. Clad in goatskins, the inhabitants of the Attic village gathered around a rustic altar, and as they sang accompanied their songs with dances under the direction of a leader who regulated the movements of the dance. As time passed, the leader of the chorus related, during the pauses in the singing, the adventures of Dionysus, his sufferings and triumphs, and the chorus expressed in song and in appropriate movements and gestures the feelings aroused by the story. Here we have the intermediate stage in the transition from chorus to drama. Gradually the rude improvisation gave way to

[1] My chief authorities, in dealing with this introductory phase of the subject, were A. E. Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, Oxford, 1907; L. Campbell, *A Guide to Greek Tragedy*, London, 1891; H. E. Butler, *Post-Augustan Poetry from Seneca to Juvenal*, Oxford, 1909; A. Chassang, *Des essais dramatiques imités de l'antiquité au XIV^e et au XV^e siècle*, Paris, 1852. Others are referred to in the footnotes.

chants in regular lyric form and the satyric chorus developed into the dignified chorus with strophe, antistrophe and epode as found in later tragedy. The chants were no longer sung by the whole group of revellers, but by a trained chorus of fifty persons, and thus, even before the dramatic element had begun to develop, the chorus had reached an artistic form. The dithyrambs, or choral songs and dances, were still further developed when an actor was introduced, and the dialogue was no longer carried on between the leader and the whole chorus, but between the leader and this actor.

When Æschylus began to compose his dramas Greek tragedy was a sacred choral performance the chief interest of which was centered in the lyrics of the chorus; while the simple plot sustained by the declamations of the actor, or by dialogues between this actor and the chorus, served as the thread by which the whole was held together. Æschylus by the introduction of a second actor so far limited the choral parts as to make them secondary to the action; for when the chorus was no longer necessary for the representation of the plot the center of interest was transferred from the orchestra to the stage. But although Æschylus subordinated the chorus to the dialogue he made no abrupt departure from the choral drama of his predecessors. His tragedies are still in the form of an oratorio, and the lyric odes are closely related to the action itself; but the development of his dramatic powers shows that from his time the history of the chorus is a history of gradual decay.

According to Haigh[2] the increasing subordination of the chorus takes two distinct forms. "In the first place there is a gradual diminution in the length of the part assigned to the chorus," and, secondly to quote Haigh again, there is apparent "a constant tendency to reduce the importance of the chorus by severing its connection with the plot." The "Suppliants," the earliest of existing Greek tragedies, consists of long choral songs and the dialogue is short and of little importance. Moreover, the interest is centered in the fate of the fugitive maidens, and the parts of Danaŭs, the

[2] *The Attic Theatre*, p. 285.

king, and the herald merely connect the various chants of the maidens. In the "Seven against Thebes," however, a distinct advance is made in the development of the drama. The chorus has lost much of its old significance and Eteocles is the central figure; while in "Prometheus" the chorus for the first time begins to assume the conventional and subordinate rôle that it fills in Sophocles and in the early dramas of Euripides. "It was at this period," says Haigh,[3] "that Attic tragedy reached its highest perfection, and the question as to the proper place of the chorus in the plot was solved in the manner most consistent with the genius of Greek drama. The chorus is now thrown much further into the background and appears in most plays, not as a participant in the action, but merely as a sympathetic witness. While the dialogue is proceeding it follows the course of events with the keenest interest, but seldom actively interferes. In the pauses between the action it moralizes on the significance of the incidents which have just occurred. Such is its position during the middle of the (fifth) century. It has been removed from the stress and turmoil of the action into a calmer and more remote region, though it still preserves its interest in the events upon the stage." In the later plays of Euripides the development is continued. Euripides is, in a sense, the first modern dramatist, and he changes the drama and with it the chorus to suit his needs. Not able to eliminate entirely the chorus from Greek tragedy, he justifies its presence by making it the confidant of the principal actor.[4] "In the pauses between the dialogue it sings odes of a mythological character, which have only the remotest connection with the incidents of the plot."[5] That the evolution of the chorus continued along these lines is seen from the words of Aristotle[6], who complains of the practice first begun by Agathon and followed by the poets of his own time; namely of introducing "choral songs that per-

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 286.

[4] Cf. the chorus of sympathizing women in the *Medea*, and the scene between Phaedra, the nurse and the chorus in *Hippolytus*.

[5] Haigh, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

[6] *Poetics*, edited by S. Butcher, London, 1902, c. 18.

tain as little to the subject of the piece as to that of any other tragedy, and which are therefore sung as mere interludes." When Aristotle in writing the "Poetics" demanded "that the chorus should be regarded as one of the actors, that it should be an integral part of the whole and share in the action, in the manner not of Euripides but of Sophocles," he based his observations upon the Greek drama of the great classic period. But, in making this requirement, he failed to realize that, in the time that had elapsed between the writing of "King Oedipus" and the "Poetics," the natural evolution of the Greek drama had forced the lyric element far into the background, and that any return to the older type of drama was impossible. "We can hardly doubt," says Haigh,[7] "that the tendency already strongly marked in Euripides had been developed to its natural results, and that the tragic chorus of the later fourth century was practically excluded from all share in the conduct of the play. After the fourth century very little is known about its history. But the evidence seems to show that it was sometimes discarded even as early as the third century; and in later times this came to be more and more the ordinary custom. Even when retained, its functions were merely those of the modern band."

In the lyrical portion of the Greek drama "music, poetry and dancing were all brought into requisition."[8] The poetry was, however, in all cases the important part of the performance, while the music and dancing served to interpret and add vividness to the meaning of the words. But the dance as a feature of Greek tragedy must be distinguished from the modern dance. The Greek dance was essentially mimetic in character; its principal function being to interpret and illustrate the poetry by appropriate gesticulation. Aristotle defines the tragic dance as "an imitation of actions, characters and emotions by means of postures and rhythmical movements."[9] As a rule the motions were grave and majestic, and more like walking than dancing in the modern sense. The music of the Greek tragedy was also simple in character. The choral odes were chanted in unison, syllable after syllable,

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 287. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 311. [9] *Poetics*, c. 1.

by the chorus. Both the singing and the instrumental accompaniment, which was generally limited to a single flute or harp, were always subordinate to the poetry. By the blending of poetry, dancing and music into one harmonious whole, the Greek chorus was enabled to make a threefold appeal to the audience; the appeal of beautiful poetry and profound thought, secondly the sensuous appeal of rhythmic motions explaining and intensifying the meaning of the words, and finally that of appropriate music accompanying both.

When at the close of the Punic Wars the Romans turned seriously to the study, translation and imitation of Greek literature, it was the drama to which they first gave their attention. For a brief period the writing of tragedy continued to be popular, and it became customary to give performances at all the festivals of the city.[10] But, for the Romans, the less refined pleasures of the amphitheatre, such as the horse races and the gladiatorial combats, possessed far greater fascination than the drama. With them the theatre never could become the absorbing passion that it was to the Greeks; and when, under Greek influence, they took up dramatic writing, they produced a purely exotic form of literature; plays that, in many cases, were merely translations of the Greek drama, especially of Euripides.[11] As time went on, interest in the drama died out; even in the early Empire it had given way to the mime and pantomime, and from that time drama proper existed only as closet-drama, which was written by literary men either as a pastime or for the entertainment of their friends. There is no evidence of the performance of any tragedy on the Roman stage during the "Silver Age."[12] The only extant Roman tragedies from this later period are those of Seneca, important in the history of the chorus because of

[10] For the popularity of the plays of Ennius, M. Pacuvius and L. Accius, cf. Sellar, *Roman Poets of the Republic*, Oxford, 1905, p. 120.

[11] The chorus was brought over into the early Roman drama, but it is impossible to judge from the few extant fragments anything of its treatment by the dramatists of that period. For a discussion of the chorus in Roman tragedy cf. Ribbeck, *Römische Tragödie*, pp. 637 ff.

[2] H. E. Butler, *Post-Augustan Poetry from Seneca to Juvenal*, p. 44.

the influence he exerted on the tragedy of the Renaissance. In examining the plays of Seneca we find a still further development of the chorus. Soon after the introduction of tragedy into Rome the orchestra ceased to be used for the chorus, but was given up to the Roman senators; and the chorus, thus crowded out of the orchestra, had to be brought on the stage. This innovation had an important effect upon the chorus. With the abolition of choral dances around the altar in the orchestra the drama lost its religious significance. Moreover, the nature of the chorus itself was changed. When it occupied the stage with the actors, who were no longer limited to three, there was no space for the choral dance with its rhythmic movements to the right and then to the left, as the strophe, antistrophe and epode were sung. There was, accordingly, a tendency to thrust the chorus more and more into the background, until it gradually became customary for the chorus to remain off the stage during the action and appear only between the acts. As the Roman tragedies were no longer produced but merely declaimed or recited in the presence of the friends of the dramatist, the incongruity of having the chorus comment upon events of which it was not a witness was not very apparent. But as a result the drama lost touch with the stage. In Euripides the connection between the chorus and the plot is slight, in Seneca it disappears entirely, and the rôle of the chorus is formal, artificial and ineffectual. It is used to set forth long descriptions and bombastic declamations in the style of the Alexandrian school. The chorus is no longer needed, but is kept partly as a matter of tradition, partly to supply music between the acts. The meter in the choruses of Seneca differs from that of the Greeks. There is no system of strophe, antistrophe and epode. The choral songs are generally in the form of stanzas which are repeated without variations. "The choruses in 'Agamemnon' and 'Oedipus' are composed of fragments of Horatian meter, thinly disguised by inversions and resolutions of feet."[13] The anapestic, asclepiad, sapphic and glyconic meters are also frequently employed.

[13] Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

During the Italian Renaissance, Seneca exerted the predominating influence on the development first of the Latin drama and then of the vernacular drama produced under its stimulus. At a time when Latin literature was much better known than Greek the tragedies of Seneca were regarded as the highest expression of ancient dramatic art, and every drama from Mussato to Alfieri shows the effect of the Senecan technic: the long speeches, the bombastic style, the division into five acts and especially the use of the chorus.[14] But in the latter half of the fifteenth century, although Seneca was not forgotten, the return to classic literature found expression in enthusiasm for Roman comedy.[15] It was this phase of the humanistic movement that was brought into Germany in the sixteenth century and which for the entire century absorbed the attention of the German dramatists. But in Italy the enthusiasm quickly passed, and in the sixteenth century the imitation of Seneca was again taken up. Italian literature was at its height in the sixteenth century and it was due to the late Italian humanists that Seneca was accepted as the model for French, Dutch, Spanish and English drama. The imitation of Seneca became a rule of art for the French classical drama. Jodelle and Garnier, "though continually referring to the Greek masterpieces, slavishly imitated the Latin tragedy"[16] and handed the Senecan tradition down to their successors. The chorus has an important part in the French drama of the sixteenth century. To use the words of E. Faguet,[17] "On pourrait presque dire que la tragédie du XVI[e] siècle est une œuvre lyrique; car c'est toujours la partie lyrique qui en est la partie plus soignée et souvent qui en est la meilleure."

But, at the beginning of the seventeenth century when

[14] Cf. J. Cunliffe, *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*. London, 1893, p. 7.

[15] Cf. A. Chassang, *Des essais dramatiques imités de l'antiquité au XIV[e] et au XV[e] siècle*, pp. 61 ff.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 188–189.

[17] *Histoire de la littérature française*, Paris, 1894, Vol. I, p. 456. Cf. also J. Cunliffe, *Early French Tragedy* (in *Journal of Comparative Literature*, I, 4, p. 316).

psychological development and individual interest began to play a part in tragedy, the presence of the chorus was felt to be cumbersome. The chorus as it had been taken over from the Italian drama no longer appealed to public taste, and the dramatists were forced to contrive some means of making its continual presence less awkward. It became customary to omit the chorus at the presentation of the play, and there was accordingly a tendency on the part of the poets to disregard it in the writing of the play. "Les chœurs," said Jean de Boissin,[18] in the preface to his "Didon," "y sont obmis comme superflus à la représentation." The chorus, however, continued to appear with more or less regularity until, in the middle of the seventeenth century, Corneille undertook to purify the French drama and abolished it completely. But the abolition of the chorus left a gap in the technic of the drama. Euripides, as we have seen, had to a certain extent made the chorus the confidant of the leading person; the chorus by its questions enabled the actor to set forth those inner emotions and feelings which could not be made known to the other actors and yet were necessary for the audience to know in the development of the plot. This was an important rôle of the chorus in the sixteenth century drama. After Corneille, the chorus does not again appear in the French drama;[19] but with Racine the confidant began to occupy the position formerly filled by the chorus. The confidant, who did not exist in the early drama, was not a direct outcome of the chorus, but was introduced some time after its abolition to bring about the motivation of the plot, as had previously been done by the chorus. The confidant is, therefore, in a way, a degenerate form of the chorus, and as such was taken over into the German drama by Gottsched.

Under the influence of the Renaissance drama of Italy and France, Lyly, Greene, Peele, Kyd, Marlowe and the other

[18] Quoted from E. Fournier, *Le théâtre français au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1871, p. ix.

[19] Racine's *Athalie* and *Esther* may be regarded as exceptions to the regular drama, since they were not written for the stage, but to be performed by the girls of a certain school.

Elizabethan dramatists introduced choral songs after the acts of their plays. Such a practice was, however, foreign to the English spirit and the chorus did not long remain on the stage in its original form. The chorus in Shakespeare's "Henry V" has nothing in common with the antique chorus. Instead of moralizing on the events of the preceding act it looks forward to the following act, and by giving the audience a mental picture of the events that are to take place produces "atmosphere" and, to a certain extent, takes the place of stage scenery. The old rôle of the chorus, that of ideal spectator or actor, was given to the clown or the court fool.

Through the Renaissance drama of France, Seneca was brought into Holland and affected the plays of Hooft and Vondel. In the early part of the seventeenth century the Dutch dramatists followed the Senecan technic closely, but toward the middle of the century they began to turn their attention to Greek tragedy. Seneca always remained the model for Hooft, as he was for the early plays of Vondel, but in 1639 the latter turned from Seneca to the imitation of Sophocles. Dutch literature was at its height in the middle of the seventeenth century; and when, at the close of the Thirty Years' War, the Germans again turned to literary pursuits, Gryphius and his followers took the Dutch tragedies as their models and brought into Germany the chorus as used by Hooft and Vondel.

CHAPTER II

The Chorus in the Early Church Plays

Even before the Revival of Learning and the return to classical studies we find in the German drama a chorus, similar in its early stages to the Greek chorus,[1] but in no way influenced by the antique drama. For in the Middle Ages[2] there was almost a complete break in the dramatic tradition of classical antiquity.[3] The scholars of the tenth and eleventh centuries were familiar with merely the names of the Greek dramatists, while they knew but little more of the comedies of Plautus and the tragedies of Seneca. Terence alone had escaped oblivion, but his plays were read and studied not because of their dramatic merit, but because he was regarded as a great teacher of the philosophy of life.[4] There is no evidence that his plays were ever performed in the Middle Ages, or that any attention was paid to their metrical form

[1] There is a similarity between the early development of the Greek drama and of the Christian Mysteries. They were both religious; the Greek originating in the religious festivals in honor of Dionysus, the mysteries as a part of the Easter morning service. They both had their origin in the chorus, and in the course of their evolution the lyric element was thrust into the background and the dramatic element became all-important. But they soon developed along widely different lines.

[2] Cf. W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, Halle, 1893, Vol. I, pp. 1–2.

[3] Cf. however, J. Tunison, *Dramatic Traditions of the Dark Ages*, Chicago, 1907, pp. 123–133 and pp. 137–182; W. Lawton, *Three Dramas of Euripides*, Boston and New York, 1889, p. 4, and A.E. Haigh, *The Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, p. 3, who argue that the medieval church plays were a development of the Greek drama through an unbroken historical connection.

[4] Cf. Hroswitha von Gandersheim, whose plays were written for the sole purpose of counteracting the evil influence of Terence and of elevating the morals of their readers. In the preface to her six comedies, she says: "Sunt etiam alii—qui licet alia gentilium spernant, Terentii tamen figmenta frequentius lectitant, et, dum dulcedine sermonis delectantur, nefandarum notitia rerum maculantur. Unde ego, *clamor validus Gandeshemensis*,

or dramatic technic.[5] When, accordingly, the priests attempted to bring the teachings of the Catholic church more clearly before the minds of the unlettered people who could not understand Latin, by representing the ritual in dramatic form, they were ignorant of even the most elementary dramatic laws; and the crude, formless pageants that evolved out of these simple beginnings were an unconscious and natural product of the needs of the time.[6] These medieval plays had their origin in a brief responsive chant that can be traced back to the tenth century.[7] This chant, which is the nucleus of all the later Easter plays, consists of the following sentences, sung alternately by the angels of the Resurrection and the women who visit the grave:[8]

1 Quem queritis in sepulchro, o christicole?
2 Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o caelicole.
3 Non est hic, surrexit sicut praedixerat, ite, nuntiate, quia surrexit de sepulchro.
4 Surrexit dominus de sepulchro, qui pro nobis pependit in ligno.

After the third responsory and before the Te Deum of the early mass on Easter Sunday morning, the choir[9] walked in solemn procession to a wooden structure which was built before

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non recusavi illum imitari dictando, quem alii colunt legendo; quo, eodem dictationis genere, quo turpia lascivarum incesta feminarum recitabantur, laudabilis sacrarum castimonia virginum, juxta mei facultatem ingenioli, celebraretur." (In Migne, J. P., ed. Patrologiae cursus completus. . . . series Latina, 1879, Vol. 137, col. 939–1196, p. 971.)

[5] One illustration of the confusion with regard to the drama in the Middle Ages is the idea that one actor recited the whole play, while the others did the acting; "dass ein einziger Recitator das ganze Stück mit Rede und Gegenrede vortrug und dass dazu mehrere stumme Darsteller die Empfindungen der einzelnen Personen des Dramas durch Gebärdenspiel ausdrückten." (Creizenach, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 5.)

[6] The religious drama arose about the tenth century. Cf. Creizenach, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 48.

[7] Cf. R. Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart, 1891, Vol. I (vol. 14 of Kürschner's *Deutsche Nationalliteratur*).

[8] The text is from Froning, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 13.

[9] These Easter services were always performed by priests.

the principal altar of the church and represented the tomb of Christ. There it separated into two parts, one singing the words of the three Marys and the other those of the two angels. In the course of time it became customary for the choir to remain in its place and for two groups to walk toward the grave and sing alternately the four Latin sentences of the ritual. These groups in turn gave way to individuals, and the chant was sung by three members of one group, personating the three Marys, and by two of the other, personating the angels. The latter took their position near the grave, while the former advanced only a short distance from the chorus.[10] When the chant was finished the women returned to the chorus, announced the news with the words "surrexit dominus de sepulchro," and the performance ended with a Te Deum sung by the chorus.

A wish to acquaint the people still further with the meaning of the services led to the introduction of more sentences from the liturgy. The first expansion[11] was the invitation to the women to come and see the place where the Lord lay.[12] As time passed new elements were added and other actors were taken from the chorus. The mourning women had been told to report the news to the disciples. Accordingly, Peter and John were introduced,[13] although in most cases they were thought of together as "discipuli." While the chorus sang the "Currebant duo simul" of the liturgy the apostles hastened to the grave, were convinced of the Resurrection, and returned with the words "Cernitis, o socii." The women and the angels had been regarded as groups, but with the introduction of Peter and John we get a hint of the individualization of character that was to be more clearly brought out in the further development of the Easter services.[14] The next change

[10] In the Easter services the rôle of chorus is taken by the choir, and I shall use the term chorus when referring to the choir.

[11] Cf. Osterfeier, Strassburg I (Antiphonar, 1200), text in Froning, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 14.

[12] "Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat dominus."

[13] Cf. Osterfeier, Augsburg I, text in Froning, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p.16.

[14] The Germans distinguish between Osterfeier and Osterspiel. It seems advisable to do the same in this discussion, and I shall refer to Osterfeier as Easter service and Osterspiel as Easter play.

was that the women, with the exception of Mary Magdalene, left the tomb after they had been told of the Resurrection. She however remained, and a dialogue ensued between her and Christ, whom she mistook for the gardener. In this dialogue we have for the first time characters that stand out as distinct and independent individuals.[15]

With the scene between Christ and Mary Magdalene the evolution of the Easter service as a part of the Easter morning mass ceases.[16] What was the effect of this development on the chorus? In the first place it had been deprived of all participation in the action. The liturgy, which had originally been sung by the whole chorus, was soon sung by selected members, by the groups of mourning women and angels. Thus we have a main chorus which stands aloof from the action, and two secondary choruses[17] which play an active rôle in it. These minor choruses, however, did not long hold the stage. Individual characters such as Peter and John were introduced from the principal chorus, and, although the original liturgical sentences continued to be sung by the groups, the members of these groups gradually came to be thought of as distinct personages;[18] and new parts, when added, were generally assigned to definite characters.

But even though all dramatic action was taken from the original chorus it was not entirely forced into the background. It still existed as the framework about which the drama was developed. Up to this time no attention had been paid to even the most elementary dramatic requirements, and when the priests had wished to lengthen the simple Easter services they went to the ritual for their material. These new liturgical sentences were generally sung by the chorus, while the characters performed the actions suggested by the words. It was

[15] Cf. Osterfeier, Nürnberg II (Antiphonar, 13 Jahrh.), text in Froning, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 17.

[16] These three scenes are broadened and elaborated by the introduction of many church songs and hymns, but no new scenes are added.

[17] The term "chorus" may be understood to mean any group of two or more persons who sing together.

[18] Cf. the scene between Christ and Mary Magdalene.

always so, first the liturgical sentences and then the actions based upon them.[19] In these sentences, which might almost be regarded as stage directions, the chorus tells what is going to take place, and the action is carried on as it is described. So, in spite of the fact that every additional element brought the individual more and more into prominence, and at the same time made the chorus of little significance in the rôle of actor, the lyric elements continued to be very important. The Easter services always remained oratorios in character. This is seen by the fact that the women sing as they walk to the grave: "Et dicebant ad invicem 'Quis revolvet nobis lapidem ab hostio monumenti?'", singing "dicebant" as if it were part of the rôle.[20] In some of the later plays, the chorus, without leaving its original place, does to a certain extent take part in the action, in that, when the women are returning from the grave, it frequently asks them what they have seen, and then ensues a dialogue between the women and the chorus.[21]

An idea of the rôle played by the chorus in the later Easter services may be obtained by examining the "Nürnberg Osterfeier" of the thirteenth century.[22] After the third responsory, the chorus sings: "Maria Magdalena et alia Maria ferebant diluculo aromata, dominum querentes in monumento." The three Marys then advance from the chorus carrying spices and incense and approach the tomb, singing first a hymn and afterward the words "Quis revolvet nobis ab ostio lapidem?" The conversation at the grave between the women and the angels takes place exactly as in the earlier performances. When it is finished two of the women return to the chorus, leaving Mary Magdalene weeping at the sepulchre. In the meantime the chorus sings "Maria plorans ad monumentum." This is followed by the words of Mary "Heu redemptio Israhel, ut qui mortem sustinuit," to which the chorus an-

[19] This is illustrated later.

[20] Cf. Osterfeier, Bamberg I, text in C. Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, München, 1887, p. 29.

[21] Cf. Trier Osterfeier, "quibus versibus sic cantatis chorus cantet: Dic nobis, Maria, quid vidisti in via?" (text in Froning, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 15).

[22] The text is from Froning, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 17.

swers "Non sufficiens sibi." Christ then appears and the scene between Him and Mary Magdalene takes place. Mary returns to the chorus, and in answer to the question of the disciples, "Dic nobis Maria,"[23] she tells of the Resurrection; after which the chorus sings: "Credendum est magis soli Marie veraci quam Iudeorum turbe fallaci." Mary sings, "Scio Christum surrexisse a mortuis vere," and the chorus, "Tu nobis, victor rex, miserere." Peter and John then run to the tomb and, as they are going, the chorus sings: "Currebant duo simul et ille alius discipulus precucurrit cicius Petro et venit prior ad monumentum, alleluia." The disciples show the linen and the napkin to the chorus, with the words, "Cernitis, o socii, ecce linteamina et sudarium." They return to the chorus singing "Surrexit enim, sicut dixit, dominus," and the performance ends with the "Te Deum laudamus" sung by the whole chorus.

From this analysis it may be seen that the original chorus, though not directly taking part in the performance, is nevertheless important because, by the singing of the liturgical sentences, it controls and directs the action.[24] There is very little direct conversation between it and the actors, but constituting, as it does, the central point about which the action revolves, and from which the characters depart and to which they return, it is indirectly kept before the eyes of the congregation. The rôle of the secondary choruses remains unchanged, but most of the new parts are taken by definite characters.

With the introduction of the scene between Mary Magdalene and Christ the priests felt that the Easter services could not be developed further if they were to be a part of the Easter morning mass. But dramatic expansion was inevitable. The people eagerly demanded more and more action, until at length the clergy were compelled to discontinue the Easter services as a part of the mass and give them as a separate service. But, even then, the elements that could be introduced within the church were naturally of a limited

[23] In most plays this is sung by the chorus.

[24] In this short play it sings four sentences from the ritual.

character; sentences from the ritual, scenes from the Gospels and church hymns. Latin was still used and everything was sung. The people were, however, not long satisfied with this; what they wanted was lively action, fun, dramatic realism and, above all, the German language.[25] As long as the plays remained in the church these things were impossible; but the demand was so persistent that the priests were finally forced to take the plays out of the church, and from that time they were performed in the market-place. Here many secular elements were introduced, together with much that was coarse and vulgar. Many folk-songs were added and the comic scenes were elaborated to such an extent that they were out of proportion to the rest of the drama. At the same time the German language was introduced, not to take the place of the Latin which, in the church plays, was never omitted, but in the form of translations or rather paraphrases and amplifications of the original. We frequently find a long German passage or even a whole scene in explanation of a short Latin sentence; and later, German sentences are introduced independently of the Latin. Thus the German drama grew up, as it were, about the original Latin sentences, and in the course of time the German elements became all-important.

The transference of the Easter play from the church to the market-place, with the resultant growth of secular elements and the increase of dramatic action, naturally had its effect upon the chorus. The connection between the chorus and the action had long been purely superficial. The chorus was no longer needed to explain the action, and when the plays ceased to be performed in the church it was possible to break away from the old formal liturgical drama and the chorus was omitted entirely. Even in the Easter services the rôle of the chorus had been curtailed by the groups, as that of the groups was later by the individual characters; and now, when all restraint of development was removed, it was the individual character in whom the dramatist was interested. But although the chorus does not appear certain of its functions

[25] For the influence of the "clerici vagantes" upon the increasing secularity of the plays, cf. Froning, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 25–27.

are retained and are bestowed upon the various actors. Some of the liturgical sentences that had been sung by the chorus were assigned to the actors themselves. Two sentences sung in the Easter services by the chorus and in the Easter plays by Peter and John will serve as illustration. After Mary Magdalene announces the Resurrection the chorus sings "Credendum est magis soli Marie veraci quam Iudeorum turbe fallaci";[26] and while the apostles are running to the grave it sings: "Currebant duo simul et ille alius discipulus precucurrit cicius Petro et venit prior ad monumentum, alleluia."[27] In the "Innsbruck Easterplay"[28] the stage direction reads as follows: "Petrus et Johannes recedunt et cantant 'Credendum est magis soli Marie' etc., et corruunt ante sepulchrum et cantant 'Currebant duo simul et ille alius discipulus'"; and in the "Sterzing Easterplay"[29] "Tunc Petrus et Johannes currunt ad monumentum cantando 'Currebant duo simul.'" Other liturgical sentences, however, had little significance beyond that of stage directions sung by the chorus, and they seem to have been given up entirely. Many Easter services begin with the sentence: "Maria Magdalena et alia Maria ferebant diluculo aromata, dominum querentes in monumento." This does not appear in the Easter plays, nor does "Maria plorans ad monumentum," another much-used sentence. In the absence of the chorus it became customary for the actors to address the people.[30]

In the early Easter plays the Latin was sung by groups, as it had been in the Easter services, while the German paraphrases were in almost every case spoken by definite characters.[31] In the new portions such as the merchant-scenes, all the rôles were taken by individuals;[32] save when Latin from

[26] Cf. Trier Osterfeier, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 15.

[27] Cf. Augsburg Osterfeier, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 16; cf. also Nürnberg Osterfeier, which contains both sentences. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 17.

[28] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 96. [29] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 103.

[30] Cf. Sterzinger Osterspiel: "Petrus dicit ad populum"; "Johannes dicit ad populum." (Text in A. Pichler, *Über das Drama des Mittelalters in Tirol*, Innsbruck, 1850, p. 167). [31] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

[32] Cf. Wolfenbüttler Osterspiel, text in Froning, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 60–62; also Erlauer Spiel, *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 62–94.

the ritual was introduced, in which case the Latin was sung by groups.[33]

But while there was a tendency to put the action more and more into the hands of individuals, there was also a parallel tendency to bring on the stage the groups with which the individuals were associated in the Bible. Consequently, with the lengthening of the Easter plays to include the watch at the grave and Christ's descent into hell, many new groups were added; as the soldiers of Pilate at the tomb, the angels who awaken Christ and the souls imprisoned in hell. It was customary for all the actors to march upon the stage in solemn procession before the play began and to remain there during the performance. Thus there was always a great mass of actors on the stage, who for convenience grouped themselves about the principal actors. When, in the course of this dramatic epic, one event after the other was enacted, each leading character, as he came to the front, brought with him his particular group, and each group in its turn played the rôle of the chorus; as chorus of angels, of devils, of souls, etc.[34] These groups were continually changing during the process of the action, and consequently we never find one definite chorus throughout the play.

Under the influence of the Easter plays arose the Passion plays,[35] in which the choral groups are even more prominent; for, inasmuch as the action of these plays generally included the principal events in the life of Christ from His baptism to His burial, a greater opportunity was given for the introduction of groups; as followers of John the Baptist, apostles of Christ, angels, wicked Jews, prophets, etc. These choral groups were more vitally connected with the drama than was the original chorus, for they took an active part, as it had not done. Thus it happens that in the later Easter and Passion

[33] Cf. Redentiner Osterspiel, where, in the scene in which Christ releases the souls imprisoned in hell, are found directions such as: "Et cantant anime," "Et ducit animas, que cantant." (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 123–198.)

[34] These various choral groups remained distinct throughout the play.

[35] Although some Passion plays are older than the Easter plays, they became popular in the fifteenth century when the development of the Easter play began to decline.

plays, although all the important rôles are played by individuals, the groups or minor choruses again come into prominence, under the necessity of providing room upon the stage for all the actors.[36]

In the later plays there is apparent a tendency to unite all the minor choruses into one large chorus. Hints of this tendency to return to the original chorus are found in the "Redentin Easter Play"[37] in a chorus sung by the combined groups. In the "Frankfurter Dirigierrolle"[38] it is quite usual to find, in addition to choral songs by groups, stage directions such as:[39] "persone universaliter cantabunt versiculum hunc," "persone quoque universaliter cantabunt" or "hic persone cantabunt"; and in the "Tirol-Lichtmesspiel"[40] sentences such as: "tunc omnes canunt simul," "tunc canunt omnes" or "simul omnibus cantantibus." In the Alsfeld Passion play[41] a number of verses are undoubtedly sung by the united choruses; for, inasmuch as these verses are practically the same as those sung by the "persone universaliter" of the "Frankfurter Dirigierrolle," which served as the model for this play, the simple term "chorus" which is always used must refer to the new composite chorus. The duties of this new chorus are even more limited than were those of the original chorus. It takes no part in the action; in fact it does little more than sing Latin hymns and stereotyped phrases. In the course of development a new character had been added, the "proclamator," whose duty was to speak the prologue and the epilogue, to give the contents and purpose of the play and to set forth the moral.[42] Thus it happened that the "procla-

[36] It is impossible to ascertain whether the chorus occupied a specific place on the stage. Cf. R. Heinzel, *Beschreibung des geistlichen Schauspiels*, Hamburg, 1898, p. 26.

[37] Cf. Froning, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 146, where the following stage direction is found, "chorus cantat: 'Sanctorum populus'."

[38] The text is from Froning, *op. cit.*, Vol. II.

[39] Such stage directions occur fourteen times in this play.

[40] Cf. Pichler, *op. cit.*, pp. 101 and 110.

[41] The text is from Froning, *op, cit.*, Vol. III.

[42] Such a rôle is played by St. Augustine in the "Frankfurt Passion Play.'

mator" had to a certain extent assumed some of the duties of the original chorus, and the old liturgical sentences, which had dwindled down to stage directions and had disappeared when the chorus was omitted, were not brought back. Those liturgical sentences, however, that had been assigned to the individual actors were again sung by the chorus; thus showing that there was a feeling of relationship between this and the old chorus.

No attempt to trace the evolution of the chorus in the great medieval pageants can be very satisfactory.[43] Although there is apparent a gradual subordination of the lyric elements to the dramatic, the rôle actually played by the chorus is confused and uncertain. The reason is obvious. The authors of the religious dramas were priests of little or no creative genius, who wrote not for the sake of producing great plays, but that they might bring clearly before the eyes of the people the significance of the teachings of the church. Everything had to be represented on the stage, nothing was left to the imagination; hence were evolved great dramatic epics, the performance of which lasted several days and employed a multitude of actors.[44] In writing these plays the dramatists did not hesitate to utilize the plays of their predecessors;[45] either copying them without change[46] or working them over and amplifying them. Even in the latter case the original form was always apparent. Familiar portions of the pieces, as formulae, hymns and ritual sentences, were always introduced just as they had existed in the early Easter celebrations. Thus the choral songs, which always remained unaltered even when the plays in which they were found were incorporated into the longer plays, soon became typical and stereotyped. For

[43] The history of the dramatic services proves that the chronological order of the monuments does not show their internal development. Cf. Creizenach, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 58.

[44] Contrast the Greek method of narration by the messenger, where the whole plot was familiar to the audience before presentation.

[45] Cf. L. Wirth, *Die Oster-und Passionsspiele bis zum XVI. Jahrhundert*, Halle, 1889, p. 228.

[46] The author of the Alsfeld Passion play copied almost all of the Trierer Marienklage.

this reason one cannot really speak of the evolution of the chorus in the religious drama. The drama developed out of the chorus, but the chorus itself remained unchanged, and even in the latest German plays is found in its original form. Moreover, the development of the plays depended to a great extent upon the individuality of the author. If he was of a religious temperament, as was the writer of the "Alsfeld Passion play," a great many liturgical sentences and hymns would be introduced; but if he preferred realism and emphasized such scenes as the "Teufelspiel" or the merchant-scenes, which had no liturgical foundation, the chorus played little or no part. Furthermore, any attempt at originality on the part of the author was naturally a movement away from the liturgical drama and consequently a movement away from the chorus. Thus it happens that in some of the later plays the chorus is prominent, while in others it does not appear at all.

We have seen from the preceding examination that the religious drama had its origin in the old church choir, or chorus, that the chorus soon gave way to the smaller choruses or groups, and these in turn to the individual characters. Even while the drama was still a part of the Easter morning mass the chorus had ceased to take part in the action, and its duties were confined to the singing of liturgical sentences or to dialogue with the actors. When, under the continual demand for more realism and the German language, the plays were transferred from the church to the market-place, the original chorus was omitted, and the liturgical sentences which it had previously sung were either discarded or assigned to individual actors. The principal rôles were now taken by distinct characters, the secondary groups still singing their original songs. With the growth of the plays and the introduction of new characters, the leading personages brought on the stage with them the characters with whom they were associated in the Bible, and the groups again became an important factor in the development of the action. Later these groups were united into one composite chorus, which, though bearing a certain resemblance to the original chorus, must be sharply

distinguished from it. For certain functions of the old chorus had been assumed by the "proclamator," who had been added in the course of development. These functions were not given to the new composite chorus, but its duty was confined to the singing of hymns and of such liturgical sentences as had been retained. But in the meantime the German elements had been developed and elaborated to such an extent that the Latin sentences appear only in scattered instances throughout the drama. Consequently the composite chorus appears only as an anomaly and never becomes a regular part of the dramatic technic.

CHAPTER III

The Chorus under the Influence of the Latin Comedy

In order that the character of the chorus in the drama of the sixteenth century may be clearly understood, it is first necessary to give a brief summary of the radical changes that took place in the drama as a whole during this period. At the end of the fifteenth century German literature was at a low ebb. It was a period of moral, religious and social disintegration, and the literature of the period naturally reflected this condition; it was vulgar, coarse, satiric, in the worst sense plebeian. The religious drama had developed into a great unwieldy folk-drama; and in the course of its evolution so much that was rude and repulsive had been introduced that the plays fell into disrepute. For some time there had been a tendency to treat religion more seriously, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century the old religious drama passed out of existence. The Shrove-tide plays which were the only other type of drama in this period, were crude, vulgar farces, in doggerel verse and generally more or less satiric in character. In the sixteenth century the type was greatly improved by Hans Sachs, who wrote no less than eighty-five Shrove-tide plays. His technic is very simple. There is no division into acts and scenes, and the characters come and go as it suits his pleasure. The Shrove-tide plays continued to flourish throughout the sixteenth century, but early in the seventeenth they too were given up.

Such were the conditions in Germany when a movement arose which was to produce a new drama based on classic models; a drama which, under the influence of the Reformation, was to give the vernacular drama a stricter and more regular form, and then work hand in hand with this popular drama in furthering the teachings of Luther. This movement was

begun in Germany by the German students who had studied at Padua, Rome and Bologna, and who had brought back with them the enthusiasm for Latin literature which was at that time widespread in Italy. Under the influence of Italian humanism the Roman comedies were everywhere held in the highest esteem. Not content with studying and interpreting them, the German humanists had them performed at the universities, and gradually the schoolmasters began to write original Latin dramas based on the classic comedies, for the sole purpose of facilitating the study of Latin. These plays were performed by the students at the schools and universities. But the early humanists had little conception of dramatic technic, for their plays are very primitive in form.[1] They are either little more than a succession of dialogues[2] in prose, or else elaborate court pageants, consisting of five loosely connected acts held together by choral songs, partly in prose, and partly in verse; such as were written by Locher and Celtis, the most important of the early humanists.[3]

The only noteworthy exception is the "Scaenica progymnasmata" or "Henno" (1497) of Reuchlin, a peasant-comedy based on the well-known French farce "Maître Pathelin."[4] This play was epoch-making, not only because it was the first successful attempt on the part of a German humanist to reproduce the spirit as well as the form of the old Roman comedies, but also because it was the first instance of the introduc-

[1] Cf. Creizenach, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 31.

[2] These plays might be characterized by the title which Heinrich Bebe (1501) gives his play: *Comœdia (vel potius dialogus.)*

[3] The court pageants, although they contain choral songs, do not deserve a close investigation, for they died out without further development and without exerting the slightest influence on the German drama. They were not translated into German, but remained, as they were intended to be, a purely scholastic type of literature. "The Latin drama which was to attain high perfection in Germany during the sixteenth century produced only its forerunners in the humanistic period." (L. Geiger, *Renaissance und Humanismus in Italien und Deutschland*, Berlin, 1882, p. 473).

[4] It was impossible to obtain the text of Reuchlin's comedy. I have, therefore, been compelled to follow the detailed analysis of the play given by Creizenach, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 43 ff.

tion of the chorus into the New Latin comedy. The play was performed January 31, 1497, by the students at Heidelberg, where it was received with great enthusiasm. But in spite of his popularity Reuchlin had no immediate followers. For nearly half a century, the pageants and dialogues continued to be the favorite form of literature among the humanists; and the "Henno" seems to have remained without effect until 1535. In that year the Dutch humanist Georgius Macropedius produced his "Aluta" and his "Rebelles,"[5] in the preface to which he says that it was Reuchlin who first inspired him to write.[6]

At this time there existed in Switzerland a bitterly satiric vernacular drama, parallel to but entirely independent of the scholastic drama.[7] The authors of this crude but powerful "Tendenzdrama" were stern, serious men who were unacquainted with the new literary movement and used the old Shrove-tide type as a means of expressing their dissatisfaction with the church and the clergy. Written by burghers and performed in the market-places on Sundays by burghers, these plays were in every sense folk-dramas. As in the old church drama, every thing was represented and the plays developed until they sometimes took two days to perform and employed hundreds of characters. Then came the Reformation, forcing into the background by the very vehemence of its advance all that could not serve its purpose. The religious strife became the one overwhelming event of the time. But with Luther's translation of the Bible and his words[8] in approval of the drama there sprang up a widespread

[5] The humanistic plays, written as they were in Latin, could be read with equal facility by the people of every country and hence served as models in the writing of later plays.

[6] "Is (Reuchlin) mihi primus, ut verum fatear, ansam scribendi dedit, is me primus excitavit. Si praeter eum alii ante me scripserint, nescio; hoc scio, quod alios non viderim." (Text in the *Lateinische Litteraturdenkmäler des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, edited by J. Bolte, Berlin, 1897, Vol. 13.)

[7] Cf. *Die Totenfresser* of P. Gengenbach, and *Der Ablasskrämer* of Nicklaus Manuel.

[8] Cf. Preface to the Book of Judith and to the Book of Tobit,—quoted

enthusiasm for dramatic productions. From all parts of Germany and Switzerland came the impulse to use the stage as a weapon of the Reformation, and to write plays on subjects taken from the Old and the New Testament. This Biblical drama was not an affair of the burgher class exclusively, but, in Germany especially, the clergy and the schoolmasters wrote plays to be performed by the students. Thus we have two types of vernacular drama, one written by the unlearned and performed in the market-places; the other written by the schoolmasters and the clergy and performed in the schools. These schoolmasters had studied the Roman comedies and they followed classic models in the composition of the popular drama. The loose continuity of the plays was divided into what might be called acts, although at first the division into three or five parts was purely artificial and did not in the least depend upon the inner motivation or development of the plot. At first the plays were not actually divided into acts, but the parts were separated by choruses in short strophes, which at one time resemble Latin odes and at another medieval hymns. In 1527 appeared "Der verlorne Sohn" by Burkard Waldis,[9] the oldest Protestant drama based upon a Biblical story and the first German drama written under the influence of the classic tradition. In 1535 the "Susanna" of Paul Rebhun[10] was produced. Under the influence of the Reformation the satiric drama of Switzerland gave way to the Biblical drama in classic form, and in 1532 appeared the "Fünferlei Betrachtnisse" of Johannes Kolross[11] and the "Susanna" of Sixt Birck.[12] These plays were followed by those of Boltz along parallel lines.

Even the Latin drama was not unaffected by the Reforma-

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by H. Holstein, *Die Reformation im Spiegelbilde der dramatischen Litteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Halle, 1886, p. 20. (In *Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte*, Vols. 14–15.)

[9] Edited by Froning. (In Kürschner's *Deutsche Nationalliteratur*, Vol. 22.)

[10] Edited by J. Tittmann, *Schauspiele aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1868, Vol. II.

[11] Text in *Schweizerische Schauspiele des 16. Jahrhunderts*, edited by J. Bächtold, Zürich, 1890, Vol. I.

[12] *Ibid.*, Vol. II.

tion. Under its influence the dialogues and the pageants gave way to a new type of drama, more or less in the form of the old Roman comedies, but treating subjects taken either from contemporary life or from the Scriptures. This new tendency had its origin in Holland. The first dramatist to employ a Biblical subject in the style of Terence and Plautus was the Dutch humanist Gnapheus, who in 1529 produced the most famous and the best drama on the subject of the Prodigal Son, "Acolastus sive de filio prodigo."[13] In the prologue, Gnapheus says that he was influenced by Terence in the treatment of the parable and refers to himself as the first who dared to use a Biblical subject in the manner of the Roman comedy writers. The moral at the end is characteristic of the Latin school-drama of the Reformation, for now the drama was intended not merely to drill the students in colloquial Latin, but also to serve as a means of teaching and spreading the ideas of the Reformation. This play attained great popularity in Holland, and was brought into Italy, England and Germany. In Germany and Switzerland it met with great success, owing to the fact that in these places the indigenous Biblical drama was just then absorbing the interest of all the people.[14] The "Acolastus" was immediately translated into German that it might be understood by those who did not know Latin. The next year Sixt Birck rewrote his "Susanna" (1537) in Latin,[15] and in the prologue to this version referred to the "Acolastus" in a way which implies that it was perfectly familiar to the audience. Birck was the first German to produce a Latin Biblical drama, but his example was quickly followed, and it soon became customary for the authors of the vernacular drama either to translate the doggerel verse into Latin or to write entirely new plays in this language.

Under the influence of the Dutch school the German

[13] Edited by J. Bolte in *Lateinische Litteraturdenkmäler des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1891, Vol. I. This play does not, however, contain a chorus.

[14] The Latin Biblical drama was ushered into Germany by the performance of *Acolastus*, in 1536.

[15] Edited by J. Bolte, *op. cit.*, Vol. 8.

humanists abandoned the pageants and dialogues and turned to the Latin Biblical drama, which soon became the only type written by them. Thus the two literary currents ran side by side, exerting a mutual influence. The same subjects were treated and the same dramatists frequently wrote both in Latin and in German. In spite of their religious significance the Biblical plays never lost their pedagogic character, and at various times during the year the schoolboys were compelled to give a performance in Latin before the school authorities, to show their facility in the language, and then one in German in the town-hall or in the market-place before the assembled populace, that "beid gelert und ungelert, Burger, Bawr und alle man den profectum wachs und zunemmen der Schulen sehen und erfaren. Auch ein jeder deste mehr lust, die seinen zur Schulen zu halten, haben muge, wirt solche Comedien ferner offentlich unter dem freien Himmel für jederman aus unser schulen agiret und gespilet."[16] Although this translating of German plays into Latin or of Latin into German naturally led to an almost universal adoption of the Roman technic, the Biblical school-drama of the sixteenth century is a distinct type, for in it is found an element which was not derived from the old Roman comedies, and that is the introduction of the chorus between the acts.

Here an important question arises as to why the chorus was used in the German drama of the sixteenth century. The first instance of the chorus is in the "Henno,"[17] a New Latin comedy by Reuchlin (1497). In writing his play Reuchlin followed the dramatic form of Terence. But this does not, however, explain the introduction of the chorus, for it is not used in the comedies of Terence or Plautus;[18] nor is there any case of the chorus either in the Italian comedy modeled upon

[16] Cf. Baumgarten, *Juditium Solomonis*, 1561, quoted by K. Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, Dresden, Vol. II, p. 356.

[17] This play was later worked over by Hans Sachs, who omitted the chorus.

[18] Cf. *Rudens* of Plautus, Act II, Sc. 1, for the only case of the chorus in Roman comedy. This chorus of fifteen lines is recited by a group of fishermen who do not appear again in the play.

them or in the French farce "Maître Pathelin," the source of Reuchlin's play. But although Reuchlin nowhere states definitely the reason for this innovation, there is a reference in his commentary[19] that seems to point clearly to Greek influence; for in this passage he speaks of his play as "Comoedia secundae aetatis juxta Diomedem." Diomedes[20] in turn quotes Suetonius who in his "De poetis" describes the chorus in Greek comedy. If we remember that Reuchlin was the most famous Greek scholar of the humanistic period[21] and was familiar with the antique drama, it is safe to understand his words as meaning that the chorus was introduced in imitation of the chorus in Attic comedy.

Reuchlin's "Henno" is divided into five acts with a choral song at the end of the first four. These choruses have no part in the action, nor is any attempt made to connect them even in the slightest degree with the plot. The play is a Shrovetide farce of country life in the dramatic form of Terence, but the choruses are classic in form and classic in treatment. At the conclusion of the first act, in which Elsa laments the loss of the money that has been stolen from her, the chorus sings of vacillating fortune and the blessings of poverty, for the poor can lose nothing. In the remaining odes it sings of poets and their divine gift. The choruses in the "Henno" were printed with music, thus showing that they were intended to be sung by the students at the university and not declaimed.

The "Henno" immediately became popular. It was per-

[19] Cf. Creizenach, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 48.

[20] Cf. *Ars Grammatica* (given in Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, I, p. 491) where Diomedes quotes Suetonius, *De poetis*, p. 11, as describing the chorus in ancient Greek comedy as follows: "Membra comoediarum sunt tria, diverbia, canticum, chorus. . . . In choris numerus personarum definitus non est, quippe junctim omnes loqui debent, quasi voce confusa et concentu in unam personam reformantes. Latinae igitur comoediae chorum non habent."

[21] The first Greek text of Demosthenes in Germany (1522) was edited by Reuchlin. For a discussion of Reuchlin's importance in Greek scholarship cf. L. Geiger, *op. cit.*, pp. 481 ff. Cf. also L. Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin, sein Leben und seine Werke*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 100, who regards Reuchlin "als den ersten Verbreiter des Griechischen in Deutschland."

formed at the universities and studied in connection with Terence and Plautus, and, in spite of the fact that it had at first few imitators, it soon became familiar to all the German scholars of the time.[22] Then the Reformation drama arose with the all-engrossing desire on the part of its authors to spread the Gospel. Many of the plays were written by clergymen and schoolmasters and these men, who show in their technic the influence of the Latin comedies, saw in the chorus, as treated by Reuchlin, an excellent means of enforcing the teachings of Luther and introduced the singing of popular hymns between the acts. The underlying motive of all these dramas was a didactic one, and in a short time the chorus became, like the rest of the drama, didactic.

An entirely different reason for the introduction of the chorus is given by K. Borinski,[23] who thinks that the chorus was used in the sixteenth century school-drama in imitation of the chorus in the medieval church plays.[24] He quotes as his authority Greff,[25] who in the preface to his "Lazarus" (1545) says: "Wir wissen, dass man vor Zeiten in den alten actionibus zuweilen drein gesungen hat, latein und deutsch, welches nicht ungeschickt gewesen ist, sonderlich das Volk ein wenig munterer und lustiger zu hören." But in spite of the fact that the later sixteenth century dramatists may have felt that they were following the old German drama in the use of the chorus, it is very unlikely that the originators of the Reformation drama, who consciously followed classical technic,[26] and

[22] In the second quarter of the sixteenth century both German and Dutch comedy writers in the classic style refer to Reuchlin as their model.

[23] "Das Chorlied als Zwischenspiel hatte das Schuldrama des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts schon von der Misterienbühne übernommen." (*Die Poetik der Renaissance und die Anfänge der literarischen Kritik in Deutschland*, Berlin, 1886, p. 220.)

[24] Cf. also H. Palm, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Breslau, 1877, p. 91, who thinks that P. Rebhun in introducing the chorus between the acts "nahm nur damit eine, wie es scheint, schon etwas vergessene Sitte wieder auf." Palm also quotes as his authority J. Greff.

[25] Cf. J. Greff, preface to *Lazarus*.

[26] Cf. B. Waldis, preface to *Der verlorne Sohn*, who says his play was written under classic influence . . .

many of whom were confessed imitators of Reuchlin,[27] passed by the chorus in the New Latin comedy to imitate it in a drama that by 1530 was almost forgotten. It is, however, apparent from the way in which the chorus was used that the dramatists did not understand its rôle in the classic drama. They probably never concerned themselves about the traditional chorus. With them the chorus never took part in the action; it was always didactic, always reflective. It was almost always sung, sometimes by a group of people, sometimes by one actor.

The first known Latin writer to model his plays upon the "Henno" was Georgius Macropedius, whose "Rebelles" and "Aluta" may be taken as types of the sixteenth century Latin drama; "Aluta" of that class in which the scenes were taken from daily life, and "Rebelles" of student life on the stage.[28] The influence of Reuchlin is seen in Macropedius' employment of the chorus at the end of the first four acts. These choruses are, however, more closely connected with the rest of the play than are those of Reuchlin, in that they contain moral reflections upon the preceding action and the truths which Macropedius wishes to teach, but even they in no way affect the development of the plot. The choruses in the "Rebelles" and the "Aluta" are merely musical interludes; and, as in the "Henno," they were prefixed to the play with

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"Dat unnsser Stilus ys sso slicht,
Mit Terentio gar wenich stymbt,
Nach mit Plauto overeyn kumbt,
De wyle ydt ys keyn fabel gedicht,
Sonder up de rechte wahrheit gericht." (1. 212–216.)

[27] Cf. G. Macropedius, preface to *Aluta* and *Rebelles*. Cf. also *supra*, footnote 6, p. 25.

[28] These plays awakened interest in dramatic production and served as models for many later German dramas. The *Rebelles* was translated into German in 1556 and in 1557. It influenced among other dramas of student life Wickram's *Knabenspiegel* (1554), Hayneccius' *Almansor* in Latin (1578), in German (1582) and Schonaeus' *Dyscoli*. The *Aluta* was translated into German three times during the sixteenth century. It served as the model for the *Vitulus* (1595) of Schonaeus. Cf. also Bolte, *op. cit.*, introduction to *Rebelles*, p. xvi.

their musical accompaniments,[29] that every one might be able to sing the choral odes according to definite melodies without troubling to scan them.[30] All the choruses are written in Horatian meter; in "Rebelles" each chorus is an ode of eight lines and in "Aluta" an ode of twelve, all in iambic dimeter. They were intended to be sung by the boys in the school. According to the "dramatis personae" of "Rebelles" the chorus is composed "ex Aristippicae scholae auditoribus." Macropedius has two choruses in "Aluta" after each of the first four acts. In addition to a chorus of peasant women who moralize upon the events of the preceding act, there is a chorus of Bacchantes who chant the songs of Bacchus. It begins each time with the words "Jacche Bacche ohe, ohe," and is always the same.

Even before the Dutch school had taken the "Henno" as its model the German and Swiss schoolmasters had come under the influence of Reuchlin's chorus and had converted it to their own use. The first German drama in which the chorus appears is "Der verlorne Sohn" of Burkard Waldis. Although a Shrove-tide play in Low German, it is saturated with the New Learning. According to Waldis' own statement it was written under the influence of the ancient drama. It is divided into two acts, the first treating of the departure of the Prodigal and his downfall, and the second of his return and restoration to his father's favor. The choral songs are apparently hymns that were well-known in the sixteenth century, for Waldis gives only the first line of each. The chorus is composed sometimes of four and sometimes of five persons. After the prologue has been delivered, and before the action opens, a choral song is sung:[31] "Hyr wordt gesungen de Lavesangk, 'Nu bidden my den hilgen geyst,'—mit vyff stemmen." At the end of the first act there is an epilogue

[29] The musical accompaniments for the choruses were first printed in the edition of 1553.

[30] "Adjectae sunt choris post singulos actus notulae quaedam musicae, quo simplici tenore quisque possit citra laborem versiculos modulari." (Cf. Bolte, *op. cit.*, introduction to *Rebelles*, p. xxxviii.)

[31] L. 219.

followed by the chorus,[32] "Darnha wardt gesungen de xiij Psalm, 'Idt spreckt der unwysser mundt wol,'—mit vyff stemmen." The second act is concerned with the son's return. While the feast is being prepared the Te Deum is sung, and during the feast instrumental music is introduced in the form of trumpets, reed-pipes and flutes. Even while the feast is in progress the opportunity for introducing sacred songs is not overlooked. Just before the end[33] "wardt gesungen der cxxix Psalm,.'Uth deper noeth' etc., met v. stemmen"; and the play closes with an epilogue. In addition to the psalms sung during the play six others are printed at the end. The first three (2, 3, 24) were translated into German by Andreas Knöpfer, a reformer of Riga, and the others are the work of Burkard Waldis. Thus we see that at every possible opportunity the chorus is utilized for the singing of psalms.

The first Swiss drama in which the chorus appears is "Eyn schœn spil von fünfferley betrachtnussen den menschen zuor Büss reytzende, durch Joannen Kolrossen uss der heyligen geschrifft gezogen." It was performed at Basel in 1532. The subject is not taken from the Bible, but is an original treatment of the "death dance" in which a young man, disregarding his religious instruction for a life of pleasure, is wounded by the dart of Death, but is saved by repentance. The play is not actually divided into acts, but that such a division was to be understood is seen from the introduction of four choruses in rimed sapphic meter. The chorus is composed of four actors. The play opens and closes with a choral song: "zum ersten singt man mit fier stimmen nachgende tüdtsche Saphica." Here the chorus has the rôle of prologue, urging all to heed the teaching of the play. This is followed by the prologue proper in which a herald commands silence and bids the people give their attention to the play. The choral songs are closely connected with the plot, in that they give a deeply religious touch to the play by setting forth the moral and by earnestly and seriously urging the people to profit by it, for:

[32] L. 1277.

[33] L. 1934.

"Sydt wir nit wüssen, wañ der tod werd kummē,
So sind geflissen, O jr lieben frummen,
Wachend all stunde, halltend Gottes Bunde,
Dwyl jr sind gsunde!"[34]

At the same time they serve to fill the pauses in the action; for while the chorus is singing the youth who has been granted a new lease of life in which to repent goes away——"und diewyl man singt, zücht er die wältlich kleydung ab, unnd legt demütige kleyder an."[35] After the epilogue the chorus calls to mind the five considerations that lead men to repentance and the whole play concludes with a prayer to God.

The work begun by Kolross was carried on by Sixt Birck in "Dje history von der fromen Gottsförchtigen frouwen Susanna" (1532).[36] In the manner of Kolross he divided his play into three acts by means of two choruses in rimed sapphic meter.[37] In 1537, under the influence of the Latin Biblical drama, Birck rewrote his "Susanna" in Latin, employing instead of the original three acts the classical five acts. The chorus following the first act is the same in both plays, and the chorus at the end of the third act of the Latin version corresponds to that at the end of the second act of the German. The three remaining choruses are new; for, in this play, even the fifth act ends with a chorus followed by the epilogue. In addition to the hymns after each of the acts the boys of the school sing before the play opens.[38] All the choruses harmonize to a certain extent with the religious treatment of the subject, inasmuch as they are hymns based upon the psalms; but Birck's treatment of the first two choruses shows how little connection there was in

[34] Ll. 328–331. [35] L. 320.

[36] This play became the model for the many German and Latin *Susannas* composed during the sixteenth century; Rebhun (1535) was influenced by the German version, Stockel (1559) and Frischlin (1578), by the Latin version.

[37] Cf. for Birck's use of antique meter in the choruses, Höpfner, *Reformbestrebungen auf dem Gebiet der deutschen Dichtung des 16. u. 17. Jahrh.* (Berliner Progr., 1866, p. 9.)

[38] The musical accompaniment for this hymn is printed with the text.

the minds of the sixteenth century dramatists between the chorus as they used it and that of the classic drama. To them the chorus meant nothing more than singing between the acts, and it was immaterial whether this was done by a group or merely by one person. The choral ode after the first act, though a poetic version of the thirtieth psalm, is nothing more than a soliloquy in sapphic meter in which Susanna expresses her faith in the justice of God. In the second chorus a still further innovation is made by the introduction of the allegorical figure of "Sapientia" to sing a selection from the eighth chapter of Proverbs.[39] The other choruses are, however, sung by a group of boys.

In 1535 appeared the first drama as an art form (Kunstdrama) in the German language, the "Susanna" of Paul Rebhun. In this play there is apparent for the first time a clear comprehension of the classical technic and a conscious effort to reproduce the poetic form and dramatic structure of the ancient drama; especially of the antique chorus. In the use of the chorus Rebhun departed from the usual custom of introducing at the end of the act familiar songs or hymns, which might, perhaps, because of their religious significance, harmonize with the action or emphasize the teaching of the piece. Instead of this he composed lyrics that were closely connected with the preceding action, and which, as in the old Greek drama, might be said to express the thoughts and feelings of the ideal spectator. Rebhun bestowed great care upon the structure of his choruses. They were intended to be sung and were written in strophic form. The first chorus consists of four strophes of ten lines each. The first two strophes tell of the power of Venus and her son, and in the last two, which are sung as "proportio" to the first two, chaste love is extolled in contrast to unholy love:

"sölch lieb kumt nicht von Venus her,
sant Paul gepeuts in seiner ler;
darumb wirs billich preisen,
darumb wirs billich preisen."[40]

[39] The stage direction for this choral song is "ex VIII Proverbiorum capite sub persona Sapientiae."

[40] Ll. 306–308.

In the second chorus five four-line strophes are sung, followed by the "proportio," which consists of two ten-line strophes in entirely different meter. The third and fourth choruses are in the complicated style of the court lyric, each chorus being composed of three strophes of thirteen lines each. As in the "leich,"[41] the lines are of unequal length and are written in various kinds of meter. In the third chorus an eight-syllable trochaic line is followed by a single iambus, followed in turn by a seven-syllable iambic line, etc.

"David, der prophetisch man,
zeigt an,
durch Gottes geist geleret:
wer sich fest auf Got erbaut
und traut,
der wirt nicht umbgekeret; etc."[42]

Although the first two choruses resemble the court song in metrical form it is likely that Rebhun intended that the "proportio" should correspond to the antistrophe of the Greek chorus; for a contrasted idea is always treated in the "proportio."[43] Rebhun's plays were a decided advance upon those of his predecessors, but the other dramatists of the sixteenth century, who were not interested in the form of the drama, ignored the innovations of this scholar and continued to write their plays in the old "Knittelvers."[44]

A whole flood of Biblical dramas in classical form followed in the wake of these early plays. But in spite of their number there were no great dramatists, and but few who are worthy of mention. The sixteenth century dramatists were interested not in the literary but in the pedagogical aspect of the drama. There was, accordingly, no thought of originality; the same subjects were treated again and again, and in exactly the

[41] Cf. the "leich" as written by Walter von der Vogelweide.

[42] Ll. 307 ff.

[43] Cf. F. Böhme, *Geschichte des Tanzes in Deutschland*, Leipzig, 1886, Vol. I, pp. 254 ff., who believes that these choruses were accompanied by dances.

[44] Cf. Hans Sachs, the greatest dramatist of the period, who always used the *Knittelvers*.

same way. The earliest drama on any subject was likely to become the model for all later ones. Keeping in mind this inevitable similarity, I have endeavored, so far as it was possible, to examine the texts of those plays which were most popular at the time they were written and which exerted the greatest influence on the subsequent dramas of the sixteenth century, and which may, accordingly, be taken as types. A further investigation of the Latin and German school-plays would doubtless bring to light new details with regard to the chorus, but the general characteristics would remain the same.

What, then, are the characteristics of the sixteenth century chorus? It is most sharply distinguished from either the Greek or the Latin chorus by its didactic and religious nature. It had no other significance beyond that of a musical interlude sung at the end of an act, or even, occasionally, during the act to bridge over pauses in the action. The treatment of Biblical subjects, as has been pointed out, naturally led to the use of familiar church songs,[45] which because of their religious character expressed to a certain degree the lesson which the dramatist wished to teach. But the cases were few where, as in the "Susanna" of Rebhun, the choruses were composed expressly for the drama and therefore closely connected with it. A proof that the dramatists in many cases did not write definite choruses for their plays, but used instead appropriate hymns or psalms, is that directions are frequently given for singing when the songs are not printed with the text. In the "Joseph"of Gart[46] (1540) we read "volgend mag gesungen werden diser nachgeschribner Psalm."[47] That the chorus was, moreover, felt to have no vital connection with the action, is seen from the fact that the dramatists employed or omitted it at will. Rebhun uses it in his "Susanna," but not in "Die Hochzeit zu Cana"; Naogeorgus has it in his "Incendia," (1541) but not in his "Pammachius" (1538); W. Gnapheus

[45] The chorus was usually accompanied by definite melodies.

[46] End of Act II. (Text in *Elsässische Litteraturdenkmäler aus dem XIV–XVII. Jahrhundert*, edited by Ernst Martin and Erich Schmidt, Strassburg, 1880, Vol. II.)

[47] Cf. also *Der verlorne Sohn* of B. Waldis, *supra*, p. 32.

does not have it in his "Acolastus" (1529), but does in his "Hypocrisis" (1544).

The plays were generally supplied with a prologue and an epilogue, and the choruses were introduced at the end of the first four acts. Sometimes the play ended with a chorus, either before or after the epilogue; as in the "Rebelles" of Macropedius or the "Incendia" of Naogeorgus. Zeigler in his "Pedonothia" (1543) has a chorus after all the acts except the fourth. Choral songs are also occasionally sung before the opening of the action. Such a use of the chorus is found in Kolross' "Fünferlei Betrachtnisse"; in Birck's "Susanna" (1537); in Krüger's "Action von dem Anfang und Ende der Welt" (1566). In some few cases the choral song appears even in the middle of the act. In the "Action von dem Anfang und Ende der Welt" the chorus of angels sings both in the middle and at the end of the first scene of the first act.

The choral songs were of course sung by the schoolboys, but little can be said about the size of the chorus, There seems to have been no definite number. In the "Susanna" of Birck (1537) the first two choruses are sung by one actor; in Krüger's "Action von dem Anfang und Ende der Welt" (1566) we read with regard to the chorus of angels, "angeli, und so vil man irer sonsten immer haben kan."[48] In most cases, however, the list of "dramatis personae" does not include the chorus.

In a few instances the audience took part in the play. In "Saul" (1606) of Wolfhart Spangenberg, Saul praises David and concludes with the words:[49]

"Dass dein Lob immer grösser sey
Gott wöll dich lieben Hertziglich:
All Menschen müssen preysen dich:
Auch unser Volck müsse vollbringen
Dein Lob mit Reygen und mit singen,"

[48] Cf. "dramatis personae" of the play. (Text in *Schauspiele aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, edited by J. Tittmann, Leipzig, 1868, Vol. II.)

[49] End of Act I. (Text in *Elsässische Litteraturdenkmäler aus dem XIV–XVII. Jahrhundert*, vol. IV.)

after which follows the chorus, sung apparently by "das Volk." In the "Susanna" (1537) of Birck,[50] the eighth psalm is sung by the "populus." Thus we see that the dramatists of this period took the chorus as they understood it and modernized it by adapting it to their own needs.

The meter used in the choral songs varies. The Latin choruses were originally odes in Horatian meter. They were generally written in iambic or trochaic dimeter, asclepiad, sapphic, glyconic or alcaic meter; and a desire to write choruses according to a classic model led, in some cases, to the employment of these meters for the German plays. Both Kolross in his "Fünferlei Betrachtnisse" and Birck in his "Susanna" (1532) used "gereimte teutsche Sapphica." Rebhun is, I believe, the only sixteenth century dramatist who attempted to compose, in the German language, choruses according to the Greek model in strophe and antistrophe. But in general the choral songs of the German drama were in the crude doggerel meter of the religious songs of the sixteenth century,[51] many, as we have seen, being hymns taken over directly from the church service.[52]

The great work of the Reformation was finished by 1555. But although there was a tendency to turn from religious to secular subjects and to tragic treatment, the Senecan drama which at that time was all-important in Italy, France and England, seems to have had no imitators in Germany. The tragedies that were taken from Virgil, Livy and Ovid were based upon the Roman comedies,[53] and the favorite dramatic form continued to be that of the half-Biblical, half-Terentian school-drama[54] But even in the dramas of this period there were present tendencies which were to force the chorus into

[50] Act V, sc. 4.

[51] Cf. Luther's *Ein feste Burg*, based on the forty-sixth psalm.

[52] Cf. *supra*, p. 33 B. Waldis, to whose play were suffixed six psalms.

[53] Nicodemus Frischlin, the foremost dramatist of the latter half of the sixteenth century in writing his *Dido* and *Venus* aimed to create a "Terentius Christianus." Cf. further Holstein, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[54] Cf. Creizenach, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 425; cf., however, C. H. Herford *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1886, pp. 98–99.

the background. The popular drama that was performed in the market-places did not have a regular chorus, but scattered throughout the plays of Jacob Ruff, Hans Rudolf Manuel, Jakob Funcklin, and many others are references such as "Musica," "Trummeten," "Pfifen," "Pausando." This instrumental music, which at first served to bridge over pauses in the plot, was later used to signify the division of the play into acts, and when the plays were actually so written it supplied entertainment between the acts. But it was not long before instrumental music, the use of which had originated with the Swiss dramatists and had spread to the German popular drama was adopted by the authors of the German school-drama and was found side by side with the choral songs.[55] In the "Joseph" (1540) of Gart[56] are found the following directions: "Hie mag gesungen, gepfiffen oder georglet werden diss nachvolgende oder anders." Susanna in Birck's "Susanna" (1532) says just before she sings the first choral ode:[57]

> "wie ich yetzunder singen wil
> von hertzen uff dem orgel spil."

In Krüger's "Action von dem Anfang und Ende der Welt," after Gabriel announces the birth of Christ to the shepherds, the chorus of angels returns to heaven "singende: all er und lob sol Gottes sein etc.,"[58] and when Christ ascends into heaven "die engel mit posaunen und trommeten, oder ander seitenspiel in empfangen sollen."[59] In the second half of the century, however, when the didactic purpose of the drama became less pronounced, and the urgent need of spreading the Gospel was no longer felt, there was a tendency to give up the choral song entirely for instrumental music which became more and more the favorite form of interlude.

In 1587 appeared English players who controlled the German

[55] There are, of course, cases in the early Biblical drama, as for example, *Der verlorne Sohn* of B. Waldis where instrumental music was used in connection with the choral song, but the practice did not become general until later in the century. [56] End of Act I. [57] L. 485.
[58] Act II, sc. 1. [59] End of Act III.

stage until the Thirty Years' War.[60] In spite of the fact that choral songs are found in the plays of Lyly, Peele, Marlowe and the other Elizabethan dramatists,[61] these plays as performed in Germany by the "English comedians" do not contain a chorus.[62] The plays were brought into Germany by second-rate actors who were not concerned with faithfully producing them, for there is only the remotest connection between the original English dramas and those played in Germany. What they aimed to do was to emphasize and bring into prominence those things which appealed to popular taste. At first the plays were performed in English and between the acts a clown was introduced who spoke in German, but whose sayings were seldom more than coarse horse-play and whose acting consisted of acrobatic tricks. Instrumental music was always a prominent feature of the English plays, especially between the acts. As time passed the interlude was developed until it completely overshadowed the rest of the play, and the whole effect was that of noise and confusion caused by horns, trumpets, drums, fireworks, dancing and the tricks of the clown; all of which formed so essential a part of the English productions. With the appearance of the "English comedians," the chorus practically disappears. In the enthusiasm aroused by the foreign plays and the professional actors, the old Biblical drama and the performances of the mechanics and the schoolboys were forgotten. Nor is there any trace of the chorus in the German plays that were written under English influence, but instrumental music is the usual form of entertainment between the acts.[63]

Before concluding this chapter, it seems advisable to review briefly the development of the chorus in the century we have just been studying. But it is first necessary to emphasize the fact that there is no connection between the choral songs of

[60] "The earliest record of this English invasion dates from 1587." Cf. C. Thomas, *A History of German Literature*, New York, 1909, p. 164.

[61] Cf. *supra*, pp. 8–9.

[62] Cf. Creizenach, *Die Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten.* (In Vol. 23 of Kürschner's *Deutsche Nationalliteratur*, Einleitung, p. xcii.

[63] Cf. Jacob Ayrer and Duke Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig in whose dramas instrumental music is introduced between the acts.

the sixteenth century and those sung by the groups of minor characters centered about the leading characters of the old church plays. For even before the era of the Biblical drama, these old plays were regarded with disfavor and began to pass out of existence. The chorus is found for the first time in the sixteenth century drama in the "Henno" of Reuchlin. This chorus which, according to the indirect statement of the author, was introduced under the influence of the chorus in Attic comedy, was taken over by the writers of the Reformation drama and was used as a means of enforcing the teachings of the play. The tendency to use popular hymns between the acts, which was first apparent in the plays of the German schoolmasters and clergy, became more pronounced when in 1636 the Latin Biblical drama was introduced into Germany by the performance of "Acolastus." The play was immediately translated and affected both the Latin and the vernacular drama. Under its influence the dialogues and pageants of the humanists gave way to the Biblical drama in Latin. Men who had previously written in German began to translate their plays or to compose anew in Latin. The use of the Latin language led to a more or less general adoption of the classical technic, and consequently to the use of the choral songs as a recognized part of this technic. By the middle of the century the work of the Reformation was finished, religious subjects gave way to secular, but the Graeco-Roman technic of Reuchlin, popularized by the Latin and the German Biblical drama continued to be used. But a counter-influence was at work. Even before the advent of the English players the increasing popularity of instrumental music, as a means of entertainment between the acts, tended toward the gradual elimination of the choral song. At first instrumental music was introduced in addition to the chorus, but later in the century there was a tendency to omit the choral ode entirely. Consequently the appearance of the "English comedians," who relied for their popularity upon the use of instrumental music, dances and acrobatic feats between the acts of their plays, hastened rather than caused the abolition of the choral song.

CHAPTER IV

From Gryphius to Gottsched

During the Thirty Years' War practically all connection with the literature of the sixteenth century was severed. With the exception of the English plays which were occasionally performed dramatic productions were entirely forgotten.[1] Accordingly when, at the end of the war, the dramatists again turned to play-writing, they were compelled to follow foreign models. In the second half of the seventeenth century there were three types of drama:[2] the popular drama, showing in the antics of the clown and in the use of instrumental music between and during the acts the influence of the English players; the opera which was imported from Italy and was received with favor by the nobility; and the so-called "Kunstdrama," modeled upon the Senecan technic, which was brought into Germany by the imitation of the Dutch and to a lesser degree of the French drama.[3]

Andreas Gryphius, the greatest German dramatist of the seventeenth century, was the first to produce tragedies in imitation of Renaissance models. All his plays are tragedies of martyrdom; dramas of passive suffering in the spirit of Seneca. With the exception of "Cardenio und Celinde,"[4]

[1] "The few weak attempts at Biblical drama during this period have no significance." Goedeke, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 189.

[2] Cf. further, A. Koberstein, *Grundriss der Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur*, Leipzig, 1872, Vol. II, p. 234.

[3] By the middle of the seventeenth century Seneca had exerted his greatest influence in France, England and Holland; but the Thirty Years' War had so far retarded the development of German literature that in 1648, with the exception of the Jesuit drama, there had been practically no imitation of the Roman tragedies in Germany.

[4] It is interesting to note that this play was the indirect cause of Graf von Platen's attack upon Immermann in *Der romantische Oedipus*, a satiric comedy with a chorus in imitation of the chorus in Old Greek Comedy. Cf. *infra*, p. 80.

the heroes are always innocent victims "rejoicing to suffer death for virtue and religion." Every drama has a didactic purpose; to teach the vanity of human affairs, "die vergängligkeit menschlicher sachen in gegenwertigem und etlich folgenden trauerspielen vorzustellen."[5]

Gryphius was not an original genius. He was a pioneer in the dramatic field of the seventeenth century, and in his choruses especially he seems to have followed first one model and then another without adhering consistently to any one form of treatment. He was acquainted with the Dutch, French,[6] Italian and Jesuit[7] dramas, but the influence of the Dutch and the Jesuit is most apparent in his plays.[8] The influence of the Jesuit drama is especially discernible in his fondness for the bizarre or the unusual both in subject and in character.[9] The influence of Vondel is traceable in every play.[10]

[5] Cf. preface to *Leo Armenius*. Andreas Gryphius, *Trauerspiele*, edited by H. Palm, Tübingen, 1882. This edition was used throughout.

[6] The French drama was more strongly influenced by Seneca than was the Dutch. Gryphius follows the Dutch whenever it departs from the French and Seneca. Cf. R. Kollewijn, *Über den Einfluss des holländischen Dramas auf Andreas Gryphius*, Heilbronn, S. A., p. 71.

[7] Although the chorus was an essential part of the technic of the Jesuit drama, I have not attempted to discuss it, because the Jesuit drama was always written in Latin until the end of the seventeenth century and was always confined to the schools. For a discussion of the chorus in the Jesuit drama cf. Holstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 271 ff.; also P. Bahlmann, *Das Drama der Jesuiten*. (In *Euphorion*, 1895, Vol. II, pp. 271 ff.)

[8] The classical drama of the ancients had almost no direct influence. Cf. Goedeke, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 189. But the indirect influence of the Greek and the Latin drama was strong, i. e., the influence of Seneca through the dramas of Hooft and of Sophocles through the dramas of Vondel.

[9] For the influence of the Jesuit drama upon Gryphius cf. Willi Harring, *Andreas Gryphius und das Drama der Jesuiten*, Halle, 1907. (dissertation).

[10] For example, the "Reyhen der Hofe-Junckern Papiniani" at the end of Act I of *Papinianus* is very similar to the "Rey van Eubeers" in Act III of the *Palamedes* of Vondel. Also, the fourth choral song of *Leo Armenius* corresponds to the second and third of Vondel's *Gysbreght van Aemstel*. In each case there is a three-fold chorus. Vondel's influence upon the metrical form of Gryphius' choruses will be discussed later. Cf. Kollewijn, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 ff., for a detailed comparison of Vondel and Gryphius.

It was undoubtedly this familiarity with so many types of the Renaissance drama, coupled with a misunderstanding of the essential nature of the chorus and a total disregard of stage requirements, that gave to most of the choruses of Gryphius their incongruous and highly artificial character. Not quite certain in his own mind as to the proper treatment of the chorus, he lets his imagination run riot in this part of the play.[11] Strange experiments in characters, form and subject show how far he has departed from truth and reality. With few exceptions the choruses are utterly devoid of life and make the plays dramatically ineffective.

Gryphius has a chorus after each of the first four acts; only in "Leo Armenius" III. 1, "Papinianus" II and V and "Carolus Stuardus" V, does the chorus appear in the middle of the act. The stage-directions show that, with these exceptions, the chorus is not on the stage during the course of the action but appears at the conclusion of the act. In "Carolus Stuardus" I the chorus of murdered English kings leaves the stage with the words: "Weicht geister! Britten ist kein ort vor stille seelen!"[12] In "Papinianus" IV the furies are supposed to vanish before the eyes of the audience.[13] In "Papinianus" II, Justice descends from the clouds, calls the furies from the lower world and, at the conclusion of the choral song, again mounts to heaven. Gryphius generally has, moreover, a different chorus for each act, thus making it impossible for the chorus to remain on the stage during the progress of the play. The song of joy sung by the attendants of Catharina of Georgia after the decree of death is pronounced by Chach Abas would lead one to imagine that the chorus was not even supposed to be aware of the course of the action.

As might be expected, the choruses have little or no vital connection with the rest of the play. In the few cases in which the chorus does appear during the course of the action, its rôle

[11] Cf. *Carolus Stuardus*, Acts I and II; also *Cardenio und Celinde*, Act IV.
[12] L. 351.
[13] "Die geister verschwinden," stage direction at the end of Act IV.

is that of a sympathetic witness rather than of an actor.[14] Even when the choral song consists of observations and reflections of a moral tendency suggested more or less directly by the content of the preceding act, the tragic effect is often spoiled and an artificial tone is given to the whole because these reflections are sung by mythological personages who bear no relation to the words they sing. But Gryphius frequently goes even further, and the choruses are interludes pure and simple. They are given by allegorical figures and are so little connected with the action that they might be transferred from one play to another without any loss of appropriateness: for example, "Cardenio und Celinde" III, where a scene is enacted by Time, Man and the Four Seasons in the form of the four ages of man; or "Catharina von Georgien" IV, where, after Virtue has urged mortals to be constant, a dialogue takes place between Death and Love.

The characters found in the choruses are rarely such as belong inherently to the play.[15] In addition to living personages such as maidens, priests and courtiers, Gryphius introduced spirits, mythological and allegorical characters. Dead kings, furies, sirens, religion, heresy, virtue, love, death, justice, time, all have a rôle in his choruses. Spirits and allegorical figures, although not found in the choruses of the classic tragedy,[16] were regarded as an essential part of the technic of the Renaissance drama and were extensively used in the Jesuit drama.[17] They are also found in a more limited number in the plays of Hooft, and Gryphius' adoption of them is probably due to these influences. Another Renaissance charac-

[14] *Papinianus* II and V; also *Carolus Stuardus* V.

[15] There is no regularity with regard to the size of the chorus, but the number of characters varies in the different choruses.

[16] Cf., however, the chorus in Old Greek Comedy which was often composed of mythological beings, as furies, sphinxes, sirens; also of fanciful personifications, as towns, clouds, seasons. Were the Jesuits influenced by Old Greek Comedy?

[17] Cf. "Chor der streitenden kirchen" and "Reyhen der himmlischen" (including, "Die seligkeit," "die zwei Engel") which are found in *Die heilige Felicitas* of the French Jesuit, Nicolaus Caussin, translated by Gryphius (1634).

teristic is the use of the double chorus. This is found only two or three times in Greek tragedy[18] and only twice in Seneca,[19] but it is not uncommon in the Renaissance drama.[20] Gryphius makes frequent use of it, as, for example, the chorus of priests and maidens in "Leo Armenius" IV, or of the attendants of Plautia and of Papinianus in "Papinianus." This is discussed more fully later.

Gryphius calls his choruses "Reyhen" in imitation of Vondel.[21] They are either composed[22] in the three-fold division of "Satz," "Gegensatz" and "Zusatz," taken by Vondel from Sophocles,[23] or in the strophic form of Seneca.[24] The "Satz" was probably intended to be sung by one half of the chorus, the "Gegensatz" by the other, and the "Zusatz" by the whole chorus; for Gryphius sometimes designates this form by "chor," "gegenchor" and "chor und gegenchor zusammen." Gryphius divides his chorus in this way in "Leo Armenius" I and III and in "Catharina von Georgien" I and II. The metrical form of the "Gegensatz" always corresponds to that of the "Satz," while that of the "Zusatz" is different. Gryphius still further imitates Vondel by occasionally repeating the "Satz," "Gegensatz" and "Zusatz"; as in "Leo Armenius" IV, in "Carolus Stuardus" II, and "Papinianus" III. In "Carolus Stuardus" I, it is repeated twice. Gryphius employs a variety of meter in the choruses in imitation of Seneca, but "most frequent are the

[18] Cf. Euripides, *Hippolytus;* Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes.*

[19] Cf. *Agamemnon* and *Hercules Oetaeus.*

[20] Cf. for French Renaissance drama, Jodelle, *Didon,* in which there is a chorus of the attendants of Dido and a chorus of the attendants of Aeneas. Also, Garnier, *Porcie,* in which there are three choruses, and *Antigone.* For Dutch Renaissance drama, cf. Vondel, *Palamedes,* in which there is a Rey van Eubeers and a Rey van Ithakoiser.

[21] In 1639 Vondel in his *de Maagden* for the first time divided his chorus into "Zang," "Tegenzang" and "Toezang." Further, cf. Kollewijn, *op. cit.,* p. 64.

[22] For a detailed discussion of the meter in the choruses of Gryphius, cf. Kollewijn, *op. cit.,* pp. 74–76.

[23] This division is not found in the French or the Senecan drama.

[24] It is not unusual to find the Greek technic of Vondel and the Latin technic of Hooft employed in the same drama.

four-, six- or eight-line strophes in iambic or trochaic meter: as in "Leo Armenius" II, "Catharina von Georgien" III, "Cardenio and Celinde" I, II, and IV, "Carolus Stuardus" III and "Papinianus" I. The only instance of the use of dactylic meter is in "Papinianus" IV.[25] Gryphius seldom employs Alexandrine meter for his choruses. In "Carolus Stuardus" IV, where the chorus is spoken by Religion and Heresy, Religion speaks in Alexandrine meter and Heresy in five foot iambic meter. The women and attendants in "Papinianus" V also speak in Alexandrine meter. That some if not all of the choruses were intended to be sung to the accompaniment of orchestral music is seen from the fact that in "Leo Armenius" III, the stage-direction is "Violen. Unter währendem seitenspiel und gesang entschläfft Leo auf dem stuhle sitzend."

The following plays illustrate most clearly the characteristics of the choruses in the dramas of Gryphius: "Leo Armenius," where the sanest treatment of the chorus is found, for no allegorical figures are introduced; "Papinianus," where the treatment resembles that of the Sophoclean rather than of the Senecan chorus; and "Carolus Stuardus," where the chorus has reached the height of artificiality and loses all excuse for existence. The rôle played by the chorus in "Leo Armenius" is purely lyrical, for it does nothing to further the development of the plot. The first three choruses, which are sung by a group of courtiers, are reflective and didactic, two important characteristics of the Renaissance drama. After the fourth act there is a double chorus of priests and virgins. The words of the chorus at the end of the first act are those of the ideal spectator, who, having observed the preceding events, feels that the disaster of Balbus is due to his recklessness in expressing his views to the emperor's councilor. The "Satz" extols "speech" by means of which all the marvels of the earth have been disclosed; and upon which the life of man depends. In the "Gegensatz" the contrasted idea is taken up;[26] the destruc-

[25] Kollewijn, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[26] Cf. *supra*, p. 36, Rebhun's use of a contrasted idea in the "proportio" of the choral song.

tive power of the tongue, for to reckless words are due all the woes of mankind.

"Wie manchen hat die zung in seine grufft verdrungen!
Des menschen tod beruht auf iedes menschen zungen."[27]

The "Zusatz" concludes with a moral precept,

"Lernt, die ihr lebt, den zaum in eure lippen legen, . . .
Dein leben, mensch! und todt hält stets auf deiner zungen!"[28]

At the end of the second act we again find the chorus in the rôle of ideal spectator; for, impressed by the sudden fall of Balbus, it here reflects upon the uncertainty of life.[29] The chorus of musicians and singers in the first scene of the third act does not actually appear on the stage, but is supposed to be stationed outside the emperor's room.[30] It serves a definite purpose in that it bridges over a gap in the action, for the emperor is represented as sleeping "unter währendem seitenspiel und gesang." The choral song is, however, lyrical and not dramatic. It creates an impression of peace and security, and thus furnishes a contrast to the terror aroused by the appearance of the spirit of Tarasius. The continuity of the action is broken by the chorus at the end of the third act. During the act our thoughts are focused on Balbus and his chances of escape. He fills the scene and the chorus shatters the illusion by commonplace remarks about dreams, remarks that have no connection with the last part and only a forced connection with the first part of the act. After the fourth act there is a double chorus and a double set of "Satz," "Gegensatz" and "Zusatz." The "Satz" is sung by the virgins, the "Gegensatz" by the priests, while both join in singing the "Zusatz." In the second case the "Satz" is sung by the priests, the "Gegensatz" by the virgins and the "Zusatz" again by both. Although the choral songs are Christmas carols there is a slight connection with the action; for the

[27] Il. 359–540. [28] Il. 541 and 554.

[29] Compare the sentiment of this chorus with the last choral ode of *Oedipus Rex* of Sophocles.

[30] Act III, l. 6. "Ruffe du die sänger vor die thür."

conspirators gained access to Leo's palace disguised as priests and planned to kill him during the singing of the second hymn.

In "Papinianus" there are five distinct choruses: the chorus of Papinianus' pages, of the attendants of Julia, of the furies, of the Roman courtiers and of the ladies-in-waiting of Plautia. Although there is not so much freedom in the choice of the characters who compose the choruses, there is greater freedom in the way in which these choruses are used. The first act is concluded by a song in praise of the goodness and virtue of Papinianus. It consists of eleven six-line strophes sung by the pages of Papinianus. In the second act the attendants of the empress Julia are present when Geta is stabbed by Bassianus. After the murder Julia swoons and Bassianus rushes from the stage. The chorus bridges over the gap in the action with lamentations and cries of horror. These are arranged in dialogue form as if intended to be spoken by individual members of the chorus. But here, as in all other cases when the chorus appears in the middle of the act, it does not affect the development of the plot. When Julia comes to her senses the action is, it is true, carried on by her and the chorus, but the rôle of the chorus is limited to single exclamations which reëcho the grief of Julia. When a second actor comes on the stage the chorus remains silent. After the second act there is an unusual employment of the chorus. It is neither Greek nor Roman, but bears a certain resemblance to the interlude of the popular drama.[31] This interlude is in the form of a scene between Justice and the furies, who sing separately as individuals and together as a group. During the sounding of trumpets Justice descends from the clouds to the earth and sings of the punishment that is to be devised for the fratricide, a punishment so terrible that all the earth

[31] In the popular drama, it was customary for the interlude to be in the form of a scene enacted by characters other than those in the drama. The use of the "Zwischenspiel" either with or without the chorus is also found in the Jesuit drama. Cf. J. Zeidler, *Studien und Beiträge zur Geschichte der Jesuitenkomödie und des Klosterdramas.* (*Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen*, hrsg. von B. Litzmann, *Heft* 4, s. 117f.)

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will speak of it. She then calls the furies, who come from the lower world to avenge the murder of Geta. Each presents herself separately to Justice and is given power to torture Bassianus.

"Das grosse Rom erstarrt ob seinem Bassian.
Sein bruder fiel durch ihn; fallt ihr den mörder an!"[32]

is her command to them, after which she again returns to heaven. This chorus, which is of the same type as the chorus of Religion and Heresy in "Carolus Stuardus,"[33] has absolutely nothing in common with the traditional chorus; in fact, it can hardly be called a chorus at all. It is merely a dramatic scene bearing a certain relation, it is true, to preceding events, but a relation that is artificial and unnatural. At the conclusion of the third act the chorus which is sung by courtiers refers to the fall of Laetus, the instigator to the murder. It contains commonplace reflections upon the impossibility of escaping the consequences of sin, describing in great detail the tortures of the sin-laden conscience. The Sophoclean form of "Satz," "Gegensatz" and "Abgesang" is sung twice. After the fourth act we again find a fanciful treatment of the chorus. It is a scene between a group of furies and the spirit of Severus, the father of Bassianus, and is really a continuation of the scene after the second act.[34] According to the stage directions the emperor Bassianus is represented as sleeping in his chair. An anvil and hammers are brought on the stage by several winged spirits and upon this the three furies forge a dagger. As they work, each of these furies sings a verse of a song referring to Bassianus and the punishment they are preparing for him. After each verse the group sings the following refrain:

"So wie die schläg auff diss eisen abgehen,
Müsse, wer schuldig, die hämmer ausstehen!
So wie die funcken umfliegen und springen,

[32] Il. 571–572. [33] End of Act IV.

[34] This also reminds one of the popular drama, in which a connected interlude between the acts of the drama was not unusual.

Müsse der blitzen sein hertze durchdringen!
So wie sich feuer und stahl hier vermählen,
Muss ihn der fluch auch durchbrennen und quälen!"[35]

The spirit of Severus expresses his horror of the deed and asks the furies for the dagger they are making, that he may perform the duty of avenger. When it is finished they give it to him. Then all the spirits vanish, and after their disappearance the emperor awakens and sorrowfully leaves the stage. In this case the furies may, perhaps, be said to take part in the action, for they are represented as appearing to the emperor in a dream and torturing him as he sleeps. In the fifth act there are two choruses; the attendants of Papinianus and the chorus of Roman women, whom Plautia calls "auserkohrne frauen und freundinnen." The action practically ends with the death of Papinianus, but the remainder of the act is devoted to expressions of sorrow and grief over the disaster that has befallen him. Both choruses join in these lamentations. The chorus of Roman women has, in addition, an important rôle as ideal spectator, in that it gives expression to the feelings which Gryphius wished to be aroused in the audience by the misfortune that has befallen a righteous man. The play ends with four lines sung by the chorus of women. They are in the form of an epilogue to the play, but there is no choral song after the fifth act such as is found at the end of the first four acts.

Gryphius introduces into "Carolus Stuardus" four distinct choruses that have absolutely no relation to each other. They represent all the types employed by him: living personages, mythological, allegorical and spiritual figures. The first chorus warns the English people of the confusion and uproar that will result from the execution of Charles, and tells of the punishments that come to those who put the kings to death. It refers to King Charles whose greatest crime was "zu viel geduld."[36] But in spite of the connection with the preceding action, the tragic effect is lost because the words are sung by a chorus of spirits of murdered English kings. The "Chor,"

[35] II. 455–460. [36] I. 328.

"Gegenchor" and "Abgesang" are sung three times, thus giving an even more artificial tone to the whole. The second choral song, in which the sirens reflect upon the changes that have taken place on the European thrones during recent years, consists of general observations that have only the slightest connection with the action. This slight connection is, moreover, forgotten when the words are sung by a band of sirens, for it is hard to see the relation between the fate of King Charles and a chorus of sirens. Here the "Chor," "Gegenchor" and "Abgesang" are sung twice. After the third act a double chorus of maidens and matrons lament the conditions in England. Their song bears a general relation to the whole play rather than to any particular act. It consists of six eight-line strophes, overladen with mythological references in the style of Seneca. The maidens sing the first, third and fifth strophes, and the matrons the others, but the choral song is, however, not in dialogue form, for the words of the matrons amplify rather than answer those of the maidens. After the fourth act there is an interlude in Alexandrine meter, which was probably intended to be spoken and not sung. It is not lyric but dramatic, being a scene between Religion and Heresy.[37] Religion is personated by one character and Heresy by nine. The interlude begins with a monologue by Religion, who determines to leave the world where crime is committed in her name. Now the responsibility for the execution of the king will be placed upon her. As she is about to ascend into the clouds the other chorus tries to prevent her flight from the earth. The mantle which she wears falls to the ground, and a struggle ensues between the members of the chorus representing Heresy for the possession of it. The concluding words are spoken by Religion from the clouds. The chorus representing Heresy does not speak in unison, but each member speaks as a distinct individual. Two choruses appear on the stage during the fifth act. A chorus of maidens stand at the windows of the palace and watch as King Charles is led to the scaffold and executed. They take no part in the action and never address the actors; their only function being

[37] Cf. *supra*, p. 51.

to comment upon what is taking place. They speak in Alexandrine meter as individuals, and only when the deed is done and they give utterance to their grief do they speak as a group. After the death of the king and at the end of the act the chorus of murdered English kings again appears and plays a peculiar rôle. It cannot be said to take part in the action, for the action really ends with the death of the king and the other actors do not again appear. Nor is it in the form of a lyric choral song such as we ordinarily find at the end of the act. It is rather a dramatic epilogue to the play, in which the members speak both as individuals and as a group, probably to represent the confusion of the chorus. They call for Revenge, who appears and speaks the closing words.

Gryphius became the model for the other "Kunstdramen" of the seventeenth century. The best known of his successors are Daniel Casper von Lohenstein, August von Haugwitz and Johann Christian Hallmann, who imitated him slavishly both in form and content.[38] Typical members of the Second Silesian School, they carried to excess all the faults of the Renaissance tragedy and produced tiresome dramas in which everything is exaggerated and unnatural. In accordance with Gryphius and the Senecan tradition they always introduced a chorus at the conclusion of the first four acts. This chorus was frequently composed either of mythological or of allegorical figures such as justice, virtue, revenge, Jupiter, Mars, the Parcae, etc. Nor did these dramatists hesitate to personify rivers, mountains, countries, etc. Lohenstein in his "Epicharis"[39] introduced the Tiber and the seven hills of Rome, who lament the tyranny of Nero, and in the fourth choral song he introduced as members of the chorus Europe, Asia and Africa. The choruses are full of pedantry, bombastic conversation

[38] It was not possible to obtain the dramas of Haugwitz or of Lohenstein (with the exception of *Cleopatra*) and I was compelled in the case of these two dramatists to follow E. Grucker, *Histoire des doctrines littéraires et esthétiques en Allemagne*, Paris, 1883; G. Gervinus, *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, Leipzig, 1871, Vol. V, p. 565; Koberstein, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 281 ff. Also, B. Huebner, *Die kleineren Dichtungen und Dramen des Prodromus Poeticus von Aug. Ad. von Haugwitz*, Neuwied, 1893.

[39] End of Act III.

and erudite moralizing. They have absolutely no connection with the plot and, overladen as they are with mythological references, are entirely lacking in reality and life. In fact, with Lohenstein the chorus has so completely ceased to be regarded as a part of the action that at the conclusion of the act the scene is sometimes changed before the appearance of the chorus. The stage-direction for the second choral song of "Cleopatra"[40] is: "Der Schauplatz bildet ab ein lustiges Gebirge," and for the fourth, "Der Schauplatz verändert sich in eine lustige Gegend am Flusse Nilus." As in the tragedies of Gryphius, the choral songs are either in the Senecan form or in the "Satz," "Gegensatz" and "Zusatz" of the Greek.

Hallmann followed the dramatic form of Lohenstein, but the influence of the Italian opera is seen in the prominence of the lyric element in his dramas. More and more songs were introduced in addition to the regular chorus, until Hallmann finally left the field of tragedy and gave himself up to the pastoral and the opera.

In 1684[41] the "Kunstdrama" passed away. With its disappearance the chorus ceased to be a recognized part of dramatic technic. The reason for its brief period of existence is to be found in the character of the drama itself. Written entirely for scholars, the type never became popular; the plays were seldom performed and consequently never succeeded in gaining a firm foothold in Germany. Even with Lohenstein clearness of expression had been neglected in the desire to give an air of erudition to the dramas. Accordingly, with the increasing importance given to song, it was but a step from the "Kunstdrama" to the opera in which the words were entirely subordinated to the music.

[40] Edited by F. Bobertag. (Vol. 36 of Kürschner's *Deutsche Nationalliteratur*.)

[41] "Mit dem Jahre 1684, in dem die dramatischen Werke von Hallmann und Haugwitz gesammelt erschienen, erlischt das deutsche Renaissancedrama; es hatte abgewirtschaftet, wie am besten die letzten Ausläufer zeigen." (Paul Stachel, *Seneca und das deutsche Renaissancedrama*, Berlin, 1907, p. 349.)

At this point it seems desirable to say a few words about the theory of the chorus in the seventeenth century. The German dramatists have in general preferred to follow models rather than to evolve theories; but during the Renaissance period in which everything was justified by reason, and again during the transition period of the early eighteenth century and the formation of the regular drama, the theory of poetry assumed importance. Many theories were written during the seventeenth century, but of this number but few have any reference to the chorus.[42] Literary criticism in the seventeenth century was almost entirely dominated by the works of Scaliger, Heinsius and Ronsard, which had been brought into Germany by Opitz. Just as in the criticism of the drama in general, so in the criticism of the chorus in particular, there is apparent no desire to set forth new ideas, but each critic follows closely the opinion of his predecessor.[43] Consequently, to know the theories of a few critics is to know the theories of all.

The sixteenth century dramatists had used the chorus blindly. No theories of dramatic criticism were written, and to them the chorus meant nothing but a song between the acts. The seventeenth century writers knew that the chorus had been used in the classic drama, but had no clear idea of the purpose it had served. No effort is made to explain its presence in the seventeenth century drama, but the discussions of the chorus are merely superficial statements of the rôle it played in this drama. Birken[44] in the third chapter of "Teutsche Rede-bind und Dicht-Kunst"[45] describes the chorus

[42] The first work of dramatic criticism by a German was the *Buch von der deutschen Poeterei*, by Opitz (1624). In this, however, there is no mention of the chorus.

[43] "Was Opitz am Eingange des Jahrhunderts über das Drama gesagt hat, das finden wir getreulich abgedruckt bei Omeis, nebst dem, was alle seine Vorgänger auf dem Gebiete der 'edlen Poeterey' geschrieben haben." (Georg Popp, *Über den Begriff des Dramas in den deutschen Poetiken des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 28.)

[44] I was unable to obtain the texts of the poetic theories of the seventeenth century, but was fortunate enough to find the important theories quoted in G. Popp, *op. cit.*

[45] Quoted by G. Popp, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

as follows: "Die Chöre oder Zwischenlieder sind nach allen Handlungen zwischen eingeschaltet und entweder von einem oder mehreren Personen in eine Musik pflegen abgesungen zu werden. Diese Lieder reden gemeiniglich von den Tugenden oder Lastern, welche die vorhergehendsten Spielpersonen an sich gehabt: da jene gelobet, und diese gescholten werden. Diese Lieder dienen nicht allein den Spielschauern zu zeigen, was sie aus dem Schauspiel zu lernen haben, *sondern auch den Schauspielern, dass sie Zeit gewinnen, sich etwa nach notdurft umzukleiden.*" In the didactic purpose of the chorus is seen the influence of Horace.[46] It is interesting to note that the choral songs were not only intended to teach the audience, but to assist the actors by giving them an opportunity to change their costumes for the next act. The same idea is brought out in Harsdörfer,[47] who says of the chorus:[48] "Dieses Lied hat die Lehren, welche aus vorhergehender Geschichte zu ziehen, begriffen, und in etlichen Reimsätzen mit einer oder mehr Stimmen deutlich hören lassen. Die Reimsätze oder Gesetze dienen dies Orts, damit der Singer dazwischen ein wenig mit dem Odem rasten kann und dass die Meinungen nicht zu sehr ineinander gemenget sind, wie in ungebundener Rede von etlichen zu geschehen pfleget." Even though the play itself be in prose, the choruses must always be in metrical form. "Wann man aber die ungebundene Rede als natürliche gebrauchen wollte, weil der allerfliessenste Reim nicht ohne Zwang ist, so müssen doch die Chorlieder reimweis gesetzt werden."[49] The choral song was used only in tragedy. In comedy the acts were separated by music, but not by singing, "Musik ohne Gesang.—Wann aber die ganze Verfassung in ungebundener Rede, so könnte man viel dazu gewidmete Lieder singen lassen; sonsten aber, wann es durch und durch Verse und keine Lehren beygebracht, so ist die Musik allein genug."[50] To this statement Omeis[51] adds: ". . . der Chor

[46] Cf. *Ars Poetica*, ll. 193–201.

[47] *Poetischer Trichter, die Teutsche Dicht- und Reimkunst, ohne Behuf der lateinischen Sprache, in VI Stunden einzugiessen*, etc., Nürnberg, 1653.

[48] Quoted by G. Popp, *op. cit.*, p. 37. [49] *Ibid.*, p. 38. [50] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[51] "Gründliche Anleitung zur Teutschen akkuraten Reim- und Dichtkunst,

heutzutage nicht allein zwischen den actibus, sondern auch im Anfange und Ende des Spiels durch Vocal- und Instrumentalconcert sich hören lässt."[52] He also emphasizes the "usefulness" of the chorus: "Chor oder Zwischenlieder dienen zur Information, indem sie zeigen, was aus dem Spiel zu lernen sei, als auch den Schauspielern, dass sie Zeit gewinnen, sich nach Nothdurft auss- und umzukleiden."[53] Thus in the seventeenth century, as in the sixteenth, the chorus was regarded as a song that was sung by one or more persons between the acts of the tragedy. Its purpose was didactic, to teach by pointing out the vices and virtues of the actors. In no case do the theorists say that the chorus should be present during the action, but it is always designated as "Zwischenlied." During this century no attempt was made to study the chorus intensively or to explain its significance in the technic of the drama; and it is not until the eighteenth century that serious criticism of the drama began with Gottsched's "Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst" (1737), in which is found a somewhat more comprehensive discussion of the chorus.

The remainder of the seventeenth century and the early years of the eighteenth was a period of dramatic decadence. The popular drama had developed into the Haupt -und Staatsaction with all its crudities and vulgarities. Songs, dances and instrumental music were introduced during and after the acts, and all distinction between drama, opera and ballet seems to have been lost. Goedeke[54] says of this epoch: "Und so verläuft die dramatische Literatur mehr und mehr in Übersetzungen und Aufzüge, Ballette und Opern." The only dramatists worthy of mention in this period are Christian Felix Weise and Gottsched, neither of whom employed the chorus in their dramas.

Toward the beginning of the second quarter of the eighteenth century the influence of Gottsched led to the reform of the

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durch richtige Lehrsätze und Lehrart deutliche Reguln und reine Exempeln vorgestellet von Magnus Daniel Omeis."

[52] Quoted by G. Popp, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[54] *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 230.

coarse and boisterous German stage and to the gradual abandonment of the Haupt- und Staatsactionen for the dignified regular drama, at first entirely under French influence, and later, in accordance with the ideas of Johann E. Schlegel and Lessing under English influence. But although Gottsched does not employ the chorus[55] in his dramas, he discusses it in his "Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst."[56] Gottsched was the first to attempt an explanation of the significance of the ancient chorus; in fact he restricts himself almost entirely to a discussion of the chorus as he thought it was used by the Athenians. But, in common with the Renaissance critics, his theories show the influence of the "Ars Poetica" of Horace rather than of the "Poetics" of Aristotle. In his opinion the antique tragedy was "äusserlichem Ansehen nach, in zweyerley Stücke eingetheilet: nemlich in das, was gesungen, und in das, was nur gesprochen wurde . . . freylich war das Singen die vornehmste Pflicht des Chores, welches zu vier verschiedenen Malen, nemlich zwischen allen fünf Handlungen geschah."[57] The old chorus had three distinct functions: first and foremost, that of setting forth moral precepts, for the chorus "stimmete allezeit in seinen Liedern solche moralische Betrachtungen, Gebethe und Lobgesänge an, die sich zu der unmittelbar vorhergehenden Handlung schicketen. Diese lernte man damals gar auswendig, und pflegte sie im gemeinen Leben als Lehrsätze und Denksprüche bey Gelegenheit anzubringen."[58] Its second function was that of connecting the five acts. "Es waren aber diese fünf Handlungen untereinander eben durch den Chor der Sänger verbunden; und also," he adds, "wurde die Aufmerksamkeit der Zuschauer auf die gespielte Fabel nie ganz unterbrochen: So wie es bey uns durch die Musikanten geschieht, die allerley lustige

[55] Gottsched belonged to the French school of theorists. He, in accordance with the technic of the French drama, did not employ the chorus, but introduced the confidant which the French theater had adopted as a substitute for the old chorus. Cf. *supra*, p. 8.

[56] Leipzig, 1737, Vol. II, Chap. 10.

[57] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Chap. X, par. 7 and 8.

[58] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Chap. 10, par. 4.

Stücke darzwischen spielen; oder auch wohl gar durch Tänzer, die sich zwischen den Aufzügen sehen lassen."[59] Finally it was a spectator of the action. "Diese Leute (der Chor) nun fanden sich bald in der ersten Handlung auf der Schaubühne ein, und behielten ihren Platz bis ans Ende des ganzen Spieles. Sie vertraten daselbst die Stelle der Zuschauer, die bey der Handlung, so man spielete, zugegen gewesen, als sie wirklich geschehen war."[60] Although Gottsched regarded the chorus as an important part of the technic of the classic drama he does not say that it should be employed in the contemporary drama. For with him everything was judged by its "Wahrscheinlichkeit." The chorus was natural to the antique drama and therefore probable. "Denn das muss man wissen, dass die wichtigsten Handlungen der alten griechischen Fürsten nicht zwischen vier Wänden; sondern öffentlich vor ihren Pallästen, oder auf den Märkten ihrer Städte vorgiengen. Da war nun allezeit eine Menge von Zuschauern zugegen, die an dem Thun und Lassen ihrer Könige Theil nahmen; auch wohl nach Gelegenheit ihre Meynung davon sagten, gute Anschläge gaben, oder sonst ihre Betrachtungen drüber anstelleten. Da nun die Poeten die ganze Natur solcher öffentlichen Handlungen vorstellen wollten und sollten; so mussten sie auch Zuschauer derselben auf die Bühne bringen: Und das war denn der Chor."[61] If the Greek scene, then, was to be true to life, there had to be a chorus, but "heute zu Tage, da unsre Fürsten alles in ihren Zimmern verrichten,"[62] it is no longer probable to imagine the action as taking place "vor den Augen alles Volks."[63] But, although Gottsched felt no need of a chorus that should remain upon the stage throughout the action, he did feel that a certain advantage was to be gained by the introduction of a group of singers between the acts. Lively instrumental music or dancing such as was customary between the acts of the German drama, in his

[59] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Chap. 10, par. 9.
[60] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Chap. 10, par. 7.
[61] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Chap. 10, par. 7.
[62] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Chap. 10, par. 18.
[63] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Chap. 10, par. 18.

opinion, served only to distract the attention of the audience from the drama itself.[64] Gottsched, accordingly, wonders "ob es nicht möglich wäre anstatt der alten Oden des Chores, eine nach unsrer Art eingerichtete Cantata, von etlichen Vocalisten absingen zu lassen; aber eine solche, die sich allezeit zu den kurz zuvor gespielten Begebenheiten schickte, und folglich moralische Betrachtungen darüber anstellete. Dieses würde ohne Zweifel die Zuhörer in dem Affecte, darinn sie schon stünden, erhalten, und zum bevorstehenden desto besser zubereiten. Und eine solche Tragödie würde zehnmal schöner seyn, als eine Opera, die den Liebhabern der Musik zu gefallen alles durchgehends musikalisch vorstellen lässet; aber dabey ganz und gar von der Natur abgehet, und die ganze Wahrscheinlichkeit aufhebet."[65] Thus an opportunity would be given to connect the acts and to set forth the moral precepts; an idea that was, of course, entirely in accordance with Horace and the Renaissance tradition.

Thus we have seen that the choral song of the sixteenth century, yielding to a natural tendency, which was hastened by the appearance of the English players, had given way to instrumental music between the acts. During the Thirty Years' War the dramatic productions of the preceding century were practically forgotten, and the introduction of the chorus in the seventeenth was due to a new influx of foreign literature. The chorus that was brought into Germany in this century was the product of a long line of development from the Greek through the Senecan, Italian, French and Dutch dramas, and Gryphius followed as his model choruses that had long lost vital connection with the drama. The blind imitation of a number of models coupled with the neglect of stage conventions resulted in choruses that were altogether artificial and incongruous, and in which there is apparent no effort to appeal to popular taste. His successors were members of the Second Silesian School. They found in the choral song an opportunity to display their erudition by means of obscure mythological references, and they carried

[64] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Chap. 10, par. 9 and 26.
[65] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Chap. 10, par. 26.

to the extreme all the inconsistencies and incongruities of the choruses of Gryphius. At the same time the music became so important a factor of these performances that in 1684 the drama itself gave way to the opera and to the pastoral, and the chorus ceased to be regarded as a part of dramatic technic.

CHAPTER V

The Chorus in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

Contemporaneously with the English influence in Germany interest in ancient literature began to assert itself; the Greek tragedies were translated[1] and some few attempts were made to adapt the chorus to the German stage. Pyra used a chorus in his tragedy "Jephta"[2] and Cronegk, probably under the influence of Racine's "Athalie," attempted in "Olint und Sophronia" to employ the chorus as a means of connecting the acts more closely. But the chorus was not popular,[3] and when the play was performed in the "Hamburg National Theater" in 1767 it was omitted.[4] Lessing's "Hamburgische Dramaturgie" (1767) with its strong insistence upon the imitation of the Greeks failed to exert any immediate influence; all antique tendencies were swept aside by the "Storm and Stress" movement, and it was not until the great classical period of German literature that the gospel of the imitation of the Greeks began to spread. The first instance[5] of the chorus in this period is "Timoleon (1785), ein Trauerspiel mit Chören," by Fr. L. Graf zu Stolberg. In 1787 appeared a number of

[1] Early in the eighteenth century, many German dramatists translated the Greek tragedies into German. Joh. Elias Schlegel made some translations in 1737. Cf. Koberstein, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 360.

[2] Cf. Koberstein, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 360–361.

[3] Gebler (1770) wrote an heroic drama with a chorus. Cf. Koberstein, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 393.

[4] To this period belong the "Bardiete" of Klopstock: "Hermanns Schlacht" (1767), "Hermann und die Fürsten" (1784) and "Hermanns Tod" (1787), each with the sub-title "Ein Bardiet für die Schaubühne." But although these plays contain "bardic" choruses, they need only be mentioned in this discussion, for Klopstock was not a dramatist, and the "Bardiete," though written for the stage, are in no sense dramatic.

[5] Cf. Koberstein, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 401.

"Schauspiele mit Chören" by the brothers Chr. and Fr. L. Grafen zu Stolberg.[6] But these attempts also remained without imitation and were merely closet-dramas. At this time the ghost of the antique chorus was haunting the mind of Goethe. His study of the Greek poets had made him feel the need of the lyric element in the drama, and he accordingly introduced the "Song of the Parcae" into his "Iphigenie" (1787). The lyric element is also prominent in "Faust," both in the first and the second parts; in fact, Goethe never neglects an opportunity to bring in groups of singers: such as the chorus of angels and women on Easter morning, the chorus of soldiers, of peasants, of spirits, of witches or of mythological characters.[7] In 1795 Goethe took up the serious study of Greek tragedy with Schiller, for both dramatists felt that only in the imitation of classic models was the ideal dramatic form to be found. At the same time Goethe began but never completed "Der befreite Prometheus" in which he intended there should be a chorus of Nereids. In 1803 he made a careful study of the Greek chorus, as is shown by his treatise upon the development of the ancient chorus ("Über Entwicklung des antiken Chors"), which he sent to Zelter in June of that year.

Schiller's interest in the Greek drama was stimulated by the "Iphigenie" and he became eager to try his hand at "a simple tragedy in the strict Greek form."[8] He had translated some of the choral odes in the "Iphigenia in Aulis" of Euripides and had become interested in the Greek chorus. In 1788 he

[6] These plays are *Theseus*, *Belsazar*, *Otanes* and *Der Säugling;* the first and fourth are by the younger, the second and third by the older brother. Cf. Koberstein, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 402.

[7] Although the grumblings of the crowd in the first act of the second part are in reality comments upon the events that are taking place, it is very improbable that Goethe was, in this case, thinking of a chorus, in either the ancient or the modern sense. For at no time is a connected thought spoken by the mob as a whole, but what we have is a series of interrupted expressions which together suggest the dissatisfaction of the crowd. Cf. C. Thomas, Goethe's *Faust*, Boston, 1905, Pt. II, note to l. 4756.

[8] Cf. Letter to Körner, May 13, 1801. (*Schillers Briefe*, edited by F. Jonas, Stuttgart, Vol. VI, p. 277.)

began "Die Maltheser." He intended that the chorus should be an important part of this drama and should be composed of sixteen knights of the religious order.[9] This plan, however, never came to completion and it was not until August of 1802 that he seriously set about writing a tragedy in the Greek form. On May 2, 1803, he writes W. Becker:[10] "Die Braut von Messina ist freilich nicht im Geschmack der Zeit, aber ich habe den Wunsch nicht bezwingen können, mich auch einmal mit den alten Tragikern in ihrer eigenen Form zu messen, und zugleich die dramatische Wirkung des alten Chors zu erproben." Schiller's "Braut von Messina" was entirely an experiment, in which, as he writes Iffland,[11] he thought more of himself than of the public. It was not until the play was almost finished that he began to wonder about the effect upon the public. "Die Handlung wird zwar theatralisch genug seyn," he writes in a letter to Körner, January 7, 1803,[12] "aber die Ausführung ist durchaus zu lyrisch für den gemeinen Zweck, und, ich darf mit gutem Gewissen hinzusetzen, für das Talent gemeiner Schauspieler zu antik." His fears were not groundless, for in spite of its enthusiastic reception at the first performance at Weimar, the "Braut von Messina" did not receive unmixed praise. This tragedy is unique in German literature. No other drama has ever been so ardently admired or so bitterly attacked as this attempt to follow the Greek form, and from the first the question of the tragic effect of the chorus has been one of the most important points of discussion. After the first performance Schiller wrote to Körner:[13] "Über den Chor und das vorwaltend Lyrische in dem Stücke sind die Stimmen natürlich sehr getheilt, da noch ein grosser Theil des ganzen deutschen Publikums seine prosaischen Begriffe von dem Natürlichen in einem Dichterwerk nicht ablegen kann. Es ist der alte und der ewige Streit, den wir beizulegen nicht hoffen dürfen. Was mich selbst betrifft, so kann ich wohl sagen, dass ich in der Vorstellung der Braut

[9] Cf. L. Bellermann, *Schillers Dramen*, Leipzig, 1908, Vol. III, p. 205.
[10] *Schillers Briefe*, Vol. VII, p. 37.
[11] Cf. Letter to Iffland, April 22, 1803, *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 34.
[12] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 1. [13] March 28, 1803, *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 29–30.

von Messina zum erstenmal den Eindruck einer wahren Tragödie bekam. Der Chor hielt das Ganze trefflich zusammen, und ein hoher, furchtbarer Ernst waltete durch die ganze Handlung. Goethen ist es auch so ergangen, er meint, der theatralische Boden wäre durch diese Erscheinung zu etwas höherem eingeweiht worden."

The tragedy was also enthusiastically received in Hamburg and in Berlin. Iffland sent word from Berlin that the total effect was profound, lofty and awesome. "Die Chöre wurden meisterhaft gesprochen und senkten sich wie ein Wetter über das Land."[14]

Körner[15] felt that the chorus heightened the dramatic effect. He also felt that the picture gained in richness by the diversity of character in both choruses. On the other hand, the play met with violent opposition. Herder regarded it as "ein crasses Unding," and the Romanticists, Tieck and the Schlegels, unsparingly criticised both the chorus and Schiller's conception of fate. Bellermann[16] cites the following illustration of how widely the contemporary dramatic critics differed as to the effect of the chorus. In reporting the first performance of the "Braut von Messina" in Berlin on June 14, 1803, the *Königliche privilegierte Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* of June 16 says of the chorus: ". . . die gesprochenen Chöre machten zum Teil eine herrliche Wirkung." On the same day the *Berliner Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* reported of the same performance: ". . . die Chöre rissen viele unwillkürlich zum Lachen hin, und am Ende des Stückes ging man *sehr ruhig fort*. . . . Der gesprochene Chor tat mehr eine spasshafte als imponierende Wirkung."

It was the opposition that induced Schiller in June, 1803, to write his famous treatise, "Uber den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie."[17] In it he defends his use of the chorus and

[14] Cf. letter to Schiller, April 8, 1803.

[15] Letter to Schiller, February 28, 1803. (*Schillers Briefwechsel mit Körner*, edited by K. Goedeke, Leipzig, 1878, Pt. II, pp. 434–435.)

[16] *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 3.

[17] Cf. Schiller's *Braut von Messina*, edited by W. Carruth, New York, 1901, pp. 121–132.

at the same time takes the opportunity to make known his opposition to naturalism. The highest type of art, he says, is that which is ideal and in the strictest sense real. "The artist can use no single element of the actual as he finds it. His work must be ideal in all its parts if it is to have an intrinsic reality and is to harmonize with nature." The same is true of tragedy. Here also it is necessary to contend with the ordinary notion of the natural, which destroys all poetry. "All the externals of a theatrical representation are but symbols of the real:" time, architecture, language—all are ideal. Why then must the action alone be real? With the adoption of poetic diction a great advance was made toward the ideal drama, but "the final, the decisive step" in the elevation of the tragedy from the realm of the natural to that of the ideal would be "the introduction of the chorus." "The ancient tragedy found the chorus in nature, and for that reason employed it. It grew out of the poetical aspect of real life." But, he goes on to argue, since "the modern poet no longer finds the chorus in nature, he must create it poetically; that is, he must so transform his material as to be able to set the action back into the time when life was simple and poetic." This is the first duty of the chorus. It must free the action from the prevailing naturalism of the modern stage, and "give to it its ideal ground, its poetic freedom." "The chorus thus renders more substantial service to the modern dramatist than to the ancient, for the reason that it transforms the commonplace actual world into the old poetic one." "The chorus, moreover, purifies tragedy by separating the unavoidable reflection from the action" and by restricting it to the choral passages. At the same time "the tragic poet entwines his rigidly contracted plot with a web of lyrical magnificence in which, as in flowing robes of purple, the actors move freely and nobly with dignity and lofty calm." The lyric splendor of the chorus compels the poet to elevate the diction of the entire drama. "This one giant form on his canvas obliges him to mount all his figures on the cothurnus and thus impart a tragic grandeur to his picture." "As the chorus gives life to the language, so also it gives repose to the action"; for it not only allays the

passionate feelings of the spectators "by the calm observations that it utters between the outbursts of passion," but it also by its reflections moderates the passions of the actors.

"This is what the chorus effects in tragedy. It is, in itself, not an individual but a universal conception; yet it is represented by a palpable body which appeals to the senses with an imposing grandeur. It leaves the narrow sphere of the action to enlarge upon the past and the future, upon distant times and nations, upon whatever is human; to sum up the great results of life and to express the maxims of wisdom. But it does this with the full power of fancy, with a bold lyrical freedom which moves along on the high summit of human affairs, as it were, with the stride of the gods; and it does it accompanied by the whole sensuous power of rhythm and of music in tone and movement."

Here for the first time in the history of the German chorus emphasis is placed upon the esthetic significance of the chorus, which tends to elevate and ennoble us by lifting our thoughts and feelings above the commonplaces of life. Schiller was correct in saying that "the chorus of the Greek drama, the chorus as a single ideal person, furthering and accompanying the whole action, had never been reproduced since the decline of the old tragedy."[18]

In conclusion Schiller remarks that he has divided the chorus into two parts and has represented it in conflict with itself; but this, he adds, is only the case when it acts as a real person and as an unthinking multitude. As chorus and as ideal person it is always one and united. This is more clearly brought out in a letter to Körner:[19] "Wegen des Chors bemerke ich noch, dass ich in ihm einen doppelten Charakter darzustellen hatte, einen allgemein menschlichen, nämlich, wenn er sich im Zustand der ruhigen Reflexion befindet, und einen specifischen, wenn er in Leidenschaft geräth und zur handelnden Person wird. In der ersten Qualität ist er gleichsam ausser dem Stück und bezieht sich also mehr auf den Zuschauer. Er hat, als solcher, eine Überlegenheit über die handelnden

[18] *Über den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie*, p. 131.

[19] March 10, 1803. (*Schillers Briefe*, Vol. VII, p. 24.)

Personen, aber bloss diejenige, welche der ruhige über den passionierten hat. . . . In der zweiten Qualität, als selbsthandelnde Person, soll er die ganze Blindheit, Beschränktheit, dumpfe Leidenschaftlichkeit der Masse darstellen, und so hilft er die Hauptfiguren herausheben."

That Schiller's chorus is not Greek has been frequently pointed out by the commentators. But Schiller did not set out to imitate a Greek tragedy. What he intended was a tragedy that should be strictly Greek in form; "with a simple action, few characters, close observation of the unities, and a chorus that was to be the 'Hauptwirkung' of the whole drama,"[20] and yet, at the same time, one that should be distinctly his own creation. The chorus in the "Braut von Messina" is, accordingly, not an imitation of the old chorus but a new creation, and as such is interesting and important for the history of the chorus in the German drama. The question is, therefore: Is the chorus, as Schiller conceived it, logical and consistent, and does it perform for the tragedy the office Schiller claims it should? Most of the critics say no. From the first appearance of the "Braut von Messina" criticism has centered about two points that were first mentioned by Wilhelm von Humboldt. In a letter to Schiller[21] (October 22, 1803,) he wrote that he had two objections to make with regard to the chorus. "Er ist den handelnden Personen zu nah." The members of the chorus, he felt, should not have been represented as the vassals of the two brothers, for "da sie jeder einem andern Herrn folgen, sind sie nicht mehr reine Bürger von Messina, und da ihr eigner Ehrgeiz ins Spiel kommt, ist ihr Urtheil nicht das unpartheiische des Schicksals, so wie es sich in Menschen ausspricht." The second objection concerns the division of the chorus into two parts. "Den Chor auf eine Art für die ganze Ökonomie des Stücks wichtige und geltende zu theilen," Humboldt considers an excellent idea; but, he continues, "Ihre Theilung hat mich nicht ganz befriedigt. An sich wäre das Alter gewiss ein ganz schicklicher

[20] Letter to Iffland, February 24, 1803, *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 17.

[21] *Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Wilhelm von Humboldt.* Edited by A. Leitzmann, Stuttgart, 1900, pp. 309–313.

Theilungsgrund. Allein da beide Theile Ihres Chors noch jetzt dienende und mitwirkende Ritter sind. . . so giebt er eigentlichen Zwiespalt, da er nur Contrast zeigen sollte. Denn in allem, was auf die Handlung Bezug hat, muss der Chor mit sich selbst vollkommen übereinstimmend sein."

Humboldt's words have been echoed by the critics ever since. Thus in the first place they claim that the chorus takes so active a part in the action that it is blinded by passion and because of partisanship is hindered from the universal point of view which is the office of the chorus. Secondly,[22] they maintain that the chorus never forms a unified whole; that it is psychologically impossible for two semi-choruses that have such contradictory interests in the action and that possess all the narrowness, blindness and stupid passion of the mob to unite in harmonious reflection and express the same sentiments.

Schiller attempted to justify the division of the chorus by saying that there is such a division only when the chorus acts as "wirkliche Person" and as "blinde Menge." But neither this statement nor his claim that the chorus as ideal spectator is always one with itself is convincing. The fact is, Schiller's effort to make the chorus play a double rôle resulted in something quite different from what he had intended. He was not satisfied to introduce a chorus in imitation of the Sophoclean chorus, that is, one that by its questions would further the development of the plot, and during the pauses in the action would reflect upon the events that were taking place; but his chorus must also bring into prominence the characters of the leaders. This necessitated the division of the chorus into two groups with characteristics so utterly different that as a result the impression of two distinct choruses is much stronger than that of a single chorus at times divided into two parts. This impression is, moreover, emphasized by the way in which Schiller develops the action, for the first chorus is always in the foreground, it is the leading chorus and to it are given the important reflective passages. At their first appearance the

[22] This is the substance of the criticism made by B. Gerlinger, *Die griechischen Elemente in Schillers Braut von Messina*, Augsburg, 1858, p. 33.

two groups are placed in strong contrast: the followers of Don Manuel, older and accordingly more serious, more reserved, and more given to the "reflection that befits old age";[23] the followers of Don Cesar, younger, hasty, wrathful and desirous of war. For this reason, the first choral passage, "Hört, was ich bei mir selbst erwogen,"[24] which is spoken by the knights of Don Manuel, must be regarded as being the sentiments of this chorus alone. It is, however, only natural that the whole chorus should unite in saying:

> "Aber wir fechten ihre Schlachten;
> Der ist kein Tapfrer, kein Ehrenmann,
> Der den Gebieter lässt verachten";[25]

for all are vassals whose only law is the command of the leaders. During the two most important choral passages, "Sage was werden wir jetzt beginnen,"[26] and "Sagt mir! Ich kann's nicht fassen und deuten,"[27] the first chorus is on the stage alone. The choral passage, "Durch die Strassen der Städte"[28] is also spoken by the first chorus as the body of Don Manuel is brought on the stage. In these lyric passages the chorus produces the effect that Schiller claims it should. Here it approaches its ideal significance and rises to its loftiest heights, giving a moral and poetic grandeur to the tragedy. The passages spoken by the second chorus alone, "Heil dir, O Jungfrau,"[29] and "Den begünstigten Sohn der Götter beneid' ich,"[30] are not reflective, but are in the lighter and more joyous vein of the hymeneal song, and accordingly entirely in keeping with the character of the younger chorus.

In the last act, however, when the death of Don Manuel forces the allegiance of the first chorus to Don Cesar, and when tragic events such as would stir the depths of even the lightest and most thoughtless nature lift the second chorus above its hatred and enmity to a contemplation of the great underlying principles of life, the chorus is, for the first time, "eins mit sich

[23] L. 155. [24] Ll. 190–254. [25] Ll. 187–189.
[26] Ll. 861–980. [27] Ll. 1929–2027. [28] Ll. 2267–2308.
[29] Ll. 1174–1210. [30] Ll. 1230–1259.

selbst,"[31] and becomes, in truth, the ideal spectator. Then and then only do both groups unite in saying "Auf den Bergen ist Freiheit!"[32] and for the remainder of the play there is but one chorus. It is just this division into two distinct groups, one a band of serious men who, because of their experience and maturity, might reasonably give utterance to deep and profound thoughts, and the other, a band of impulsive, passionate men who do not reflect, that makes the chorus psychologically possible.[33] For by this division, Schiller, even while developing the semi-choruses in such a way as to make them reflect the characters of their leaders, is enabled to avoid the necessity of "uniting the utterly dissimilar choruses in harmonious reflection or of making them express the same sentiments."[34] The other objection raised by the critics may be stated thus: How can the chorus without contradicting itself at one time blindly follow the course of events and at another be capable of impartial judgment? This objection might be brought against the impulsive, wrathful followers of Don Cesar, but until the end of the play they do not reflect. According to Humboldt[35] "der Chor muss ohnmächtig, dienend und schwach sein, aber frei und nicht einmal durch Neigung gefesselt." This is true of Schiller's first chorus. For a group of men who as members of a conquered race are bound to their rulers by no ties of sympathy or regard, who as vassals must acknowledge an allegiance they do not feel, are not likely to be so carried away by feelings of partisanship as to be incapable of calm and impartial reflection. The first chorus asks:

> "Warum ziehn wir mit rasendem Beginnen
> Unser Schwert für das fremde Geschlecht?
> Es hat an diesen Boden kein Recht."[36]

[31] Cf. *Über den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie*, p. 132.

[32] Ll. 2585–2588.

[33] It seems as though Schiller's dramatic feeling guided him safely where his theories, if actually carried out, would have led him astray; for a chorus such as he claims his is, would have been psychologically impossible.

[34] Cf. *supra*, footnote to p. 70.

[35] Letter to Schiller, October 22, 1803, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

[36] Ll. 203–205.

"Sklaven sind wir in den eigenen Sitzen,
Das Land kann seine Kinder nicht schützen."[37]

In fact, the point that is most clearly brought out at the first appearance of the chorus is that it does not express personal enmity, but the enmity that a vassal must feel for the enemies of his prince.[38]

"Dich nicht hass' ich! Nicht du bist mein Feind!
Eine Stadt ja hat uns geboren,
Jene sind ein fremdes Geschlecht.
Aber wenn sich die Fürsten befehden,
Müssen die Diener sich morden und töten,
Das ist die Ordnung, so will es das Recht."[39]

Moreover, although the chorus does not stand aloof from the storm and stress of the action, as does the Greek chorus, the feelings it expresses are merely reflected feelings. Schiller gives the chorus the blindness, pettiness and stupid passion of the mob that it may the more naturally reflect the characteristics of the leaders and thus throw them into prominence; but the chorus never by its own actions vitally affects the development of the plot.[40]

When the chorus is considered as two distinct groups each group is seen to be logically and consistently developed and

[37] Ll. 222–223.

[38] The antique chorus always stands in a definite relation to the hero, in most cases, one of loyalty, though sometimes of hostility. In the *Ajax* of Sophocles the chorus of Salaminian sailors is bound to Ajax by closest ties of allegiance, but is too weak either to prevent his death or to secure his burial. Like the chorus in the *Braut von Messina*, this chorus takes part in the action but is powerless to affect the development of the plot.

[39] Ll. 175–180.

[40] In several cases Schiller goes too far in making them reflect the leaders. When the members of the chorus embrace after the reconciliation of the brothers the effect more closely approaches the ludicrous than the dramatic. Although later in the play it is not unnatural that, under provocation, the habits of a lifetime should come to the fore and that the first chorus should contend with the second, still the whole scene impresses one as being an unnecessary lowering of the dignity of the chorus.

the first chorus, reserved, serious, fearful of consequences, in fact possessing all the characteristics of the Greek chorus, is far enough removed from the action to be capable of impartial reflection.

Schiller made no attempt to imitate the complicated metrical form of Greek tragedy with the strophe, antistrophe and epode, but used the simplest verse forms; the most usual being the irregular stanza composed of trochaic and dactylic tetrameter. The lyrics have all the dignity and sublimity of the antique choral odes. In spite of the very great disagreement on other points, all the critics agree with Hoffmeister,[41] who says with regard to the choral songs: "diese mit der grössten Sorgfalt ausgearbeiteten und mit erhabener Pracht vorgetragenen, das ganze Leben überblickenden, himmelansteigenden Hymnen und Betrachtungen . . . in denen eine Ideenfülle, eine Kraft, Frische und Kühnheit der Darstellung und eine Kunst des Ausdrucks und Versmasses aufgeboten ist, dass diese Strophen zu dem Schönsten gehören, was Schiller gedichtet hat."

Bulthaupt[42] says of the "Braut von Messina": "sie ist voll Kraft und Leben, und wenn es überhaupt möglich wäre, unserem Theater den antiken Chor zurückzugewinnen, so wäre sie für diese Möglichkeit der beste Beweis gewesen." The chorus is, moreover, logically and consistently developed, and performs in the tragedy the office Schiller claims it should. And yet this tragedy served only to bring the chorus again to the fore and to prove once and for all the impossibility of making it a part of dramatic technic.[43] Schiller's prefatory essay is itself not convincing. Of the four ways in which he claims the drama would be benefited by the introduction of the chorus, all would not be accepted as advantageous, and in the case of each the same effect could be secured without the chorus. That the chorus does elevate the diction of the drama is, of course, indisputable; but Schiller's

[41] Quoted from Bellermann, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 82.

[42] *Dramaturgie des Schauspiels*, Leipzig, 1898, Vol. I, p. 398.

[43] Schiller, of course, never intended that the introduction of the chorus should be an advance in the development of German tragedy, but merely an experiment in the antique form. Cf. *supra*, p. 65.

own dramas are sufficient proof of the possibility of maintaining a high poetic tone without a chorus. On the other hand, the poet who adopts the chorus is necessarily restricted in the selection of his subject, for in order that the "chorus may not appear as a disturbing element in the drama, the plot must be so transformed that it can be set back in that simple poetic form of life of which the chorus is the natural product."[44] This means that none save the simplest plot can be used, for such a transformation would be impossible in the case of the highly developed and highly concentrated action of the historical drama, such as "Wallenstein," "Wilhelm Tell," "Macbeth" or "Richard III." Nor is the naive poetic conception of life which the introduction of the chorus demands compatible with the realism of Ibsen's "Ghosts," Hauptmann's "Die Weber," "Vor Sonnenaufgang," or in fact any of our modern naturalistic dramas. The drama has always been a history of advance and development; the dramatist must deal with the problems of his own day and must use that dramatic form which best enables him to do so. Accordingly, any technical requirement that demands a return to the simple life of an age that is past would mean the sacrifice of the highest office of the drama.[45] This difficulty presented itself to Wilhelm von Humboldt. "Ich wünschte," he wrote,[46] "dass Sie mit den neuen Foderungen, die Sie, nach dem Gelingen dieses Stücks, mit Recht an sich machen können, bald wieder einen in sich schwereren, schon durch seinen Umfang mühsam zu bändigenden Stoff, wenn nicht einen wie 'Wallenstein,' doch wie die 'Jungfrau' behandelten." A great part of the public,

[44] Cf. *Über den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie*, p. 127.

[45] Freytag claims that modern tragedy is composed of a main and a secondary action. These actions, which he designates as "Spiel" and "Gegenspiel," are distinct or even hostile to each other throughout the development of the plot, but are united in the catastrophe. The antique tragedy, on the other hand, had a simple action which was entirely concerned with the fate of the hero. Consequently, the subordinate characters of the modern drama are able to express perfectly that which was expressed in the antique tragedy by the chorus. Cf. *Die Technik des Dramas*, Leipzig, 1890, pp. 91–99.

[46] Letter to Schiller, October 22, 1803, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

he continues, would prefer the "Jungfrau von Orleans" to the "Braut von Messina" "weil sie, neben der künstlerischen Wirkung, auch einer durch ihren blossen Stoff fähig sind." Humboldt himself realized that, "zwischen der alten und neuen Tragödie noch ein andrer Unterschied ist, als der der blossen Kunstform. . . . Es versetzt das Gemüt in eine andere Stimmung, wenn eine reichere Welt sich bewegt, und wenn nicht bloss die grossen Partieen der Menschheit, wenn auch feine Charakternüancen erscheinen." The chorus purifies the tragedy by restricting the reflection to the lyric passages,[47] and at the same time gives repose to the action by the sentiments it expresses in these passages. It is just this, however, that makes the chorus dramatically ineffective; for the prominence of the lyric element inevitably results in lack of action, and what the tragedy gains in repose by the presence of the chorus it loses in dramatic reality. Moreover, the lyrics frequently retard the action at vital points and thus weaken the tragic tension. The greeting of the chorus[48] when Isabella appears with her sons is too long for the dramatic situation. In the last act[49] the lament of the first chorus is psychologically impossible, for it is not natural that Isabella should have to wait until the chorus has finished its dirge before she is told of the death of her son. In spite of the beauty of the lyric passage the needless pause destroys the tragic effect. Reflection does play an important rôle in the modern psychological drama, but it must be scattered through the play, it must follow spontaneously from the action or event that prompted it.[50] What we object to is reflection reserved for one necessary moment, reflection that seems to retard the action merely to instruct or elevate. Besides, the

[47] Other dramatists have felt the need of separating the reflective element from the rest of the drama. Cf. Hebbel, who in his "Tagebuch," June 28, 1844, complains that modern tragedy in giving up the chorus has lost an intrinsic element in the attainment of tragic effect. He felt the need of an agent by means of which the dramatist could express his own ideas without putting them in the mouths of the actors.

[48] Ll. 255–293. [49] Act IV, sc. 4.

[50] Cf. the use of the reflective element in Augustus Thomas' intensely psychological play *As a Man Thinks*.

great poet is always able to develop the plot in such a way that the necessary reflection may be spoken by the actors;[51] and other means have also been found for relieving the painful tension of the tragic situation.[52]

Probably the greatest objection that can be brought against the chorus is the impossibility of having it on the stage during moments of intense feeling and strong psychological effect. This was recognized by the Greek poets whose dramas are not notably psychological, and this accounts for the removal of the chorus from the orchestra in the "Ajax" of Sophocles. Schiller himself does not bring the chorus on the stage during the scenes in which Isabella tells Don Manuel and Don Cesar of their sister,[53] nor the one in which Diego reports the disappearance of Beatrice.[54] The presence of the chorus when Isabella is endeavoring to conciliate her sons is esthetically ineffective and we sympathize with her when she says:

> "Wozu die fremde Schar, wenn eine Mutter
> Das Herz aufschliessen will vor ihren Kindern?"[55]

From the first there were practical difficulties of stage presentation. It was not advisable for the choral passages to be sung when the rest of the play was to be recited,[56] and it was also monotonous and unnatural for the lyrics to be declaimed by all.[57] It was, accordingly, necessary to divide them among five or six individuals.[58] But with these unavoidable changes, we lose the true effect of the chorus, for its intrinsic nature is destroyed.[59] The best criticism of the chorus is probably

[51] Cf. the use of monologues.

[52] Cf. Shakespeare's use of the comic element.

[53] Act II, sc. 5. [54] Act II, sc. 6. [55] Ll. 331–332

[56] Cf. letter of Körner to Schiller, February 28, 1803, *Briefwechsel zwischen Körner und Schiller*, p. 435.

[57] Schiller at first wished the chorus to be sung with musical accompaniment, but later gave up the idea. Cf. letter to Zelter, February 28, 1803. (*Schillers Briefe*, Vol. VII, p. 18).

[58] Cf. letter to Körner, February 6, 1803. (*Schillers Briefe*, Vol. VII, p. 10), "Es ist nichts nöthig, als dass ich den Chor, ohne an den Worten das geringste zu verändern, in 5 oder 6 Individuen auflöse." Cf. also, letter to Goethe, February 8, 1803. (Vol. VII, p. 11).

[59] Cf. letter to Körner, February 6, 1803. (*Schillers Briefe*, Vol. VII,

Schiller's own statement[60] with regard to the impossibility of presenting it properly on the modern stage. "Das tragische Dichterwerk wird erst durch die theatralische Vorstellung zu einem Ganzen; nur die Worte giebt der Dichter, Musik und Tanz müssen hinzukommen, sie zu beleben. Solange also dem Chor diese sinnlich mächtige Begleitung fehlt, solange wird er in der Ökonomie des Trauerspiels als ein Aussending, als ein fremdartiger Körper und als ein Aufenthalt erscheinen, der nur den Gang der Handlung unterbricht, der die Täuschung stört, der den Zuschauer erkältet." Thus, as Schiller himself points out, the essential difficulty with the chorus is that it lacks the vital characteristics of the Greek chorus, song and the sensuous appeal of rhythmic motion. To be sure there is left the appeal of beautiful poetry, but this poetry, which could neither be sung nor declaimed by the chorus as a whole, would have been more effective in the form of a monologue.[61]

A number of antique dramas with choruses followed in the wake of the "Braut von Messina," but none were of any importance.[62] In 1805, Joh. Aug. Apel wrote "Polyidos." This was followed in 1806 by "Die Aitolier," and in 1807 by "Kallirrhoë." In 1805 G. Ant. Fr. Ast wrote "Krösus," and in 1807 appeared the "Niobe" of Wilh. von Schütz. This was followed by "Graf und die Gräfin von Gleichen" in 1808.

But even in this period there were some who objected to the imitation of Greek tragedy. Both in the "Fragmente über die neuere deutsche Litteratur" and in the "Ideen zur Geschichte und Kritik der Poesie und bildenden Künste," 1794–96, Herder speaks forcefully against any attempt to re-

p. 11), in which Schiller writes: "Sie (die Dresdner Schauspieler) sollen mir das Stück spielen, ohne nur zu wissen, dass sie den Chor der alten Tragödie auf die Bühne gebracht haben." This is true, for with the distribution of the choral odes among the individuals, there ceased to be a chorus.

[60] *Über den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie*, p. 121.

[61] There is little difference between the lyrics of the *Braut von Messina* and the monologues of Shakespeare. In fact, a chorus could equally well have been introduced in *Hamlet* to reflect upon the enigma of life instead of having this in the form of a soliloquy spoken by the Prince of Denmark.

[62] Cf. Koberstein, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 402.

produce the classic drama. "In Sprache und Sitten werden wir nie Griechen und Römer werden, wir wollen es auch nicht sein,"[63] is his reason for the impossibility of imitating any type of antique literature. Referring directly to the use of the chorus in the German drama, he says: "Bei den Griechen war die ganze Sprache Gesang; in die kleinsten Theile und Wortfügungen derselben, in die verschlungensten Gänge der poetischen Erzählung erstreckte sich die eben so verschlungene Kunst des Rhythmus und der Metrik."[64] This is apparent in all the tragic and comic choruses. But the German language "ist zu philosophisch altklug, zu eingeschränkt unter Gesetze und nicht zu den Sylbenmassen des Pindars und der Chöre vieltrittig genug."[65] Herder considered merely the emotional aspect of the chorus.[66] To him the choral ode was the expression of the emotions and its sole function was to furnish music for the Greek drama[67] which was sung throughout. Accordingly, when the drama ceased to be sung, the chorus lost all excuse for existence.

But in spite of his strong objections to the imitation of the classic dramas, Herder himself wrote plays upon Greek subjects in which he introduced the chorus.[68] In the preface to "Admetus Haus" (1803) Herder's son describes the play as an attempt to reproduce the Greek drama. "Die hohe Einfalt," he writes, "des griechischen Drama, der tiefe Sinn des griechischen Chors schwebte ihm (Herder) vor Augen, und sofort ist 'Admetus Haus,' wie dessen frühere Schwestern, Ariadne und der entfesselte Prometheus, Versuch das griechische Drama auf deutschen Boden zu verpflanzen." Herder's plays have, however, little significance in the development of the German drama, for they are little more than paraphrases of the Greek originals.

The nineteenth century ushered in the Romantic period, and the Greek poets were forgotten in enthusiasm for the

[63] *Sämmtliche Werke*, Stuttgart, 1853, Vol. XXIV, p. 318.

[64] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 390. [65] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 247.

[66] "Bei den Griechen war die lyrische Poesie nichts anders als ein Schwung der Empfindung durch mancherlei Töne." *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 10.

[67] "Der Chor war allein für die Musik eingerichtet." *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 197. [68] *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 93–204.

Middle Ages. In this period only a few experiments with the antique chorus are found. The Schlegel brothers, both of whom were classical scholars, made unsuccessful attempts to imitate Greek tragedy; Aug. W. Schlegel in his "Ion" based upon the "Ion" of Euripides, and his brother in "Alarcos." There is no chorus in "Ion," but in Act II, sc. 1, the song sung by Ion is in the form of the Greek choral ode with Strophe, Gegenstrophe and Nachlass. In 1826 the satiric comedies of Graf von Platen appeared. They are skilful imitations of the Aristophanean comedies, with choruses in the manner of the Old Greek Comedy. "Die verhängnissvolle Gabel" was directed against the writers of the fate-tragedies, while "Der romantische Oedipus" (1827), in which there is a chorus of sheep, was an attack upon Immermann.

Finally in 1827 came that magnificent union of the Classic and the Romantic, the Helena episode in the second part of "Faust." Goethe wished the first part to be performed as a tragedy and the second as an opera;[69] intending thus to bring the dignity and calm of classicism into sharp contrast with the reckless unrestraint of romanticism. The third act opens as Helena, accompanied by a chorus of captive Trojan maidens, stands before the palace of Menelaus in Sparta. Although Goethe does not follow the classical technic in all its details, the first part, as far as l. 9181,[70] is written entirely in the spirit of a Greek tragedy. The severely classical character of the interlude ceases, however, with the entrance of Faust, and for the remainder of the scene the antique and the medieval are represented side by side. In the second part the scene is laid in Arcadia and the action is romantic throughout.

Goethe follows Aeschylus closely in his treatment of the chorus. To a slight degree the influence of Sophocles is also apparent. The chorus is on the stage throughout the whole act. It takes an active part in the dialogue and is an important factor in the development of the action. The choral odes are either closely related to the dialogue, or are in the nature

[69] Cf. Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, January 29, 1827. Edited by Biedermann, Leipzig, 1890, Vol. VI, p. 38.

[70] Goethe's *Faust*, edited by C. Thomas, Boston, 1905, Part II.

of comment upon the events that are taking place. Three of the odes are addressed directly to Phorkyas. In the second ode,[71] after the chorus has described the burning of Troy, it turns to Phorkyas with the question: "Welche von Phorkys Töchtern nur bist du?"[72] and for the remainder of the ode speaks directly to her. After Helena swoons, the chorus addresses the ode beginning, "Schweige, schweige!"[73] to Phorkyas, as it also does the ode on Hermes.[74] The character of the chorus does not change with the transference of the scene to the medieval castle of Faust. Even in the second part where the action is represented as taking place in Arcadia, its antique nature is retained for a short time.[75] The ode in which the chorus describes the cleverness of the child Hermes, when Phorkyas tells them of the birth of Euphorion, is splendid in its closeness to the spirit of the Sophoclean choral songs.

Goethe's conception of the third act naturally affected his treatment of the chorus. He intended that Euphorion should "express, in his very personality, the infectious spell of song,"[76] and that this might be most effectively carried out, the action from his appearance to his death had to be cast in the form of opera. The antique elements, accordingly, disappear entirely, "for music, as 'art of the infinite,' . . . is pre-eminently *the* romantic art."[77] In the first part, the Trojan maidens are giddy, thoughtless and fearful of danger, reminding us of the chorus of maidens in the "Seven against Thebes." These characteristics they retain, but after the appearance of Euphorion, they no longer speak in antique meter. They sing instead choral odes in the rimed stanzas that Goethe makes symbolic of romantic poetry. They sing and dance with Euphorion and the stately antique chorus becomes for a time the gay bright chorus of the opera. At first their song is one of gladness, but when they see Euphorion climbing

[71] Ll. 8697–8754. Goethe was influenced by Virgil's description of the burning of Troy. (Aen. Bk. *2*, ll. 310 ff.) in the writing of this ode.

[72] Ll. 8728–8729. [73] Ll. 8882–8908.

[74] Ll. 9629–9678. [75] Until l. 9678.

[76] C. Thomas, *op, cit.*, Introduction to Faust, Part II, p. xxiv.

[77] *Ibid.*

higher and higher with ever-increasing danger to himself, their joy gives way to anxiety, and as he suddenly falls at the feet of Helena and Faust, their song becomes a lament (Goethe's beautiful tribute to the memory of Lord Byron). Goethe himself realized the abrupt change in the character of the chorus at this point. "Der Chor," he said to Eckermann,[78] "fällt bei dem Trauergesang ganz aus der Rolle. Er ist früher und durchgehends antik gehalten oder verleugnet doch nie seine Mädchennatur, hier aber wird er mit einem Mal ernst und hoch reflectirend und spricht Dinge aus, woran er nie gedacht hat und auch nie hat denken können."

After the death of Euphorion the chorus resumes its antique character. The leader Panthalis follows Helena back to Orcus, but the other Trojan maidens, not wishing to return to the realm of shades, prefer to give up their own individuality and become identified with nature's elements. The lyric passages (except those in the Euphorion scene) are in antique meter, such as the anapestic, choriambic and glyconic, for Goethe did not attempt to imitate the strict metrical form. "His principle was to reproduce the *effect* of the Greek measure, but to avoid metrical pedantry in adapting it to the German language."[79]

With the era of Romanticism the history of the chorus in the spoken drama comes to an end.[80] The attempts of Schiller and Goethe to vitalize the chorus had not been successful. What the great poets could not accomplish was beyond the power of their less gifted successors, and the chorus was, accordingly, disregarded entirely. The creative writers made no further effort to use it, and the theorists and philosophers in discussing its significance referred to it as an art-form that had outgrown its need and had passed away. A few years

[78] July 5, 1827. Cf. Biedermann, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 153.

[79] C. Thomas, *op. cit.*, Notes to Faust, Part II, p. 410.

[80] The only case, to my knowledge, in contemporary drama, in which there is even a suggestion of the classic chorus, is the *Ödipus und die Sphinx* by Hugo von Hofmannsthal. In this play he introduces "die Stimmen der Ahnen," spirits that are not seen, but which comment upon the action, and thus to a certain extent perform the function of the old chorus.

after the appearance of the "Braut von Messina,"[81] August W. Schlegel, in referring to the attempts to use the chorus in the modern drama, said:[82] "Neuere Dichter, und zwar vom ersten Range, haben häufig versucht, den Chor in ihren Stücken anzubringen, meistens ohne einen rechten, und besonders ohne einen lebendigen Begriff von seiner Bestimmung. Aber wir haben keinen angemessenen Gesang und Tanz, wir haben auch bei der Verfassung unserer Bühne keinen schicklichen Platz für ihn, und es wird daher schwerlich gelingen, ihn je einheimisch unter uns zu machen. Überhaupt möchte wohl die griechische Tragödie in ganz unveränderter Gestalt für unsre heutigen Theater immer eine ausländische Pflanze bleiben, der man kaum im Treibhause gelehrter Kunstübung einiges Gedeihen versprechen darf. Der Stoff der alten Tragödie, die griechische Mythologie, ist der Denkart und Einbildungskraft der meisten Zuschauer eben so fremd, als deren Form und theatralische Darstellungsweise. Einen ganz andern Stoff, aber, z. B. einen historischen in jene Form zwängen zu wollen, ist ein misslicher Versuch."

Hegel[83] also discusses the question of whether the chorus should be used in modern tragedy. Many dramatists have felt the need, he says, of "solch einer substantiellen Grundlage," but have been unsuccessful in their attempts to use it, because they have never understood the essential significance of the chorus in Greek tragedy. To Hegel the chorus was "das substantielle höhere, von falschen Konflikten abmahnende, den Ausgang bedenkende Bewusstsein." ". . . er ist die wirkliche Substanz des sittlichen heroischen Lebens und Handelns selbst, den einzelnen Heroen gegenüber das Volk als das fruchtbare Erdreich, aus welchem die Individuen, wie die Blumen und hervorragenden Bäume aus ihrem eigenen heimischen Boden, emporwachsen, und durch die Existenz desselben bedingt sind." The chorus has no part in the action,

[81] The exact date in 1808.

[82] *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Litteratur*, edited by E. Böcking, Leipzig, 1846, Vol. V. Part I, pp. 78–79.

[83] *Werke*, Vol. X, Part 3, pp. 547 ff. (Vollständige Ausgabe durch einen Verein von Freunden des Verewigten, Berlin, 1838.)

"sondern spricht nur theoretisch sein Urtheil." The chorus was an essential part of Greek tragedy; "wie das Theater selbst seinen äussern Boden, seine Scene und Umgebung hat, so ist der Chor, das Volk, gleichsam die geistige Scene." Modern tragedy, however, does not need the chorus, "da ihre Handlungen nicht auf diesem substantiellen Grunde, sondern auf dem subjektiven Willen und Charakter, sowie auf dem scheinbar äusserlichen Zufall der Begebenheiten und Umstände beruhn." In Greek tragedy "der Chor gehört wesentlich zur dramatischen Handlung." But it is not a vital part of the modern drama and "überhaupt kann er da nicht seine rechte Stelle finden, wo es sich um partikulare Leidenschaften, Zwecke und Charaktere handelt, oder die Intrigue ihr Spiel zu treiben hat."[84]

The chorus had, however, not entirely passed away. It would indeed be strange if the efforts of centuries were to cease without any solution of the problem. The chorus in the spoken drama had failed, and yet there are in this drama hints of the solution that was eventually to come from another direction. The lyric monologues in "Wallenstein," "Maria Stuart," "Iphigenie" and "Faust," all of which reflect the tendency to enlist the power of music, or at least of the lyric element, to increase the effect of the spoken drama,[85] point to the fact that the dramatists of the classic period were looking forward to a new art-form in which music should have a necessary part. In fact, many poets, as Lessing,[86] Goethe and Schiller, felt that the ideal of the drama was to be found in the opera. Although it was impossible for the choral passages of the "Braut von Messina" to be sung when the rest of the drama was declaimed, Schiller seems to have had a premonition of the final solution of the dramatic problem, when he wrote:[87]

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 550.

[85] The writers of the recent symbolic dramas felt the power of the lyric element and introduced songs into their plays. Cf. G. Hauptmann, *Die versunkene Glocke*, *Hanneles Himmelfahrt*. Also, H. Sudermann, *Die drei Reiherfedern*.

[86] Cf. R. Wagner, *Zukunftsmusik* (*Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen*, Leipzig, 1873, Vol. VII, p. 140).

[87] Cf. Letter to Goethe, December 29, 1797. (*Schillers Briefe*, Vol. V, p. 313.)

"Ich hatte immer ein gewisses Vertrauen zur Oper, dass aus ihr wie aus den Chören des alten Bacchusfestes das Trauerspiel in einer edlern Gestalt sich loswickeln sollte." In practice Goethe went even further than Schiller, for the second part of the Helena episode is partly in operatic form.

These men were, however, poets and not musicians. For that reason they could not put their theories into practice, and it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the problem was solved by the dramatist and composer, Richard Wagner.[88] He realized that the highest development of the drama could not be found in the opera as it existed at that time,[89] for the opera had become a purely musical creation in which the dramatic action had little significance beyond that of connecting the various vocal selections.[90] A study of Greek tragedy, in which both the music and the dance were

[88] Cf. *Zukunftsmusik*.

[89] It is interesting to note that Herder foreshadows the reform of the opera later undertaken by R. Wagner, and the rise of the music drama. He says: "Der Fortgang des Jahrhunderts wird uns auf einen Mann führen, der, diesen Trödelkram wortloser Töne verachtend, die Notwendigkeit einer innigen Verknüpfung reinmenschlicher Empfindung und der Fabel selbst mit seinen Tönen einsah. Von jener Herrscherhöhe, auf welcher sich der gemeine Musikus brüstet, dass die Poesie seiner Kunst *diene*, stieg er hinab und liess, soweit es der Geschmack der Nation, für die er in Tönen dichtete, zuliess, den Worten der Empfindung, der Handlung selbst seine Töne nur dienen. Dass er nämlich die ganze Bude des zerschnittenen und zerfetzten Opern-Klingklangs umwerfe, und ein *Odeum* aufrichte, ein zusammenhängend lyrisches Gebäude, in welchem Poesie, Musik, Action, Decoration Eins sind." (*Werke*, Vol. XXI, p. 390.)

[90] Opera was the outcome of an attempt on the part of the Italian scholars of the sixteenth century to revive Greek tragedy. (Cf. Baltzell, *History of Music*, Philadelphia, 1910, p. 177.) But in spite of its literary origin, the development of the Italian opera and of the German, which was closely modeled upon the Italian, brought the purely musical element to the fore; the dramatic significance was entirely obscured and the opera became a puppet-show for the display of vocal art. (Cf. Baltzell, *op. cit.*, p. 215.) Because of the purely musical development of the opera in Germany, it does not seem necessary to discuss in this essay the chorus in the opera. Wagner, however, by going back to the original conception of opera as a drama, appears as the creator of a new art construction, the lyric drama, and must accordingly, be considered as a dramatist rather than as an operatic composer.

subservient to the poetry,[91] suggested to his mind the possibility of an art-work in which the drama should be of paramount importance and should of itself form a complete whole, and in which the music should be, as it were, a flexible and unceasing current accompanying and at the same time intensifying and interpreting the meaning of the words.[92] In such a drama, in which music is employed to increase the effect of the dramatic action, the "poet's message will be conveyed directly to the feelings as emotion and not to the understanding as thought." Consequently, the deepest and the most profound truths will, Wagner claims, produce so irresistible and so convincing an impression at the moment of the stage performance that all reflective criticism will become unnecessary.[93] And to Wagner's mind "the ideal art-form is that which can be grasped without a shadow of reflection and through which the poet's lesson can be most clearly conveyed to the unimpeded feeling."[94]

A presentation of this ideal or music-drama is rendered possible by the orchestra as elaborated and developed by Beethoven. The rôle played by the orchestra is much the same as that played by the chorus in the Greek tragedy.[95] A comparison of the antique chorus of human beings and the modern orchestra of stringed instruments may, at first sight, appear impossible. The purely human significance of the chorus was, however, entirely disregarded by Wagner.[96] He was concerned merely with the ideal aspect of the chorus; and since the chorus, in its ideal aspect, is "not an individual but a universal conception,"[97] it may, logically, be as well repre-

[91] Cf. *supra*, p. 5.

[92] This new creation he called the music-drama in distinction from the opera. Cf. *Zukunftsmusik*, p. 179.

[93] *Ibid.*, pp. 124–125. [94] *Ibid.*, p. 172. [95] *Ibid.*, pp. 172–173.

[96] The Sophoclean chorus, it will be remembered, had a dual character. In the dialogue it represented the ordinary mass of human beings as opposed to the heroic figures upon the stage; and in the choral odes it had an ideal character and became, as it were, the mouthpiece of the poet. It is the ideal and not the human aspect of the chorus that is represented by Wagner's orchestra.

[97] Cf. Schiller, *Über den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie*, p. 129.

sented by the orchestra as by a group of individuals. At any rate the orchestra performs the essential function of the chorus; a function which, as Schiller rightly maintains, has never been given to any chorus since the decline of the antique tragedy, that of a "single ideal person, furthering and accompanying the whole plot."[98] Like the Greek chorus, the orchestra is always present and has its position off the stage,[99] and like the Greek chorus it follows the events upon the stage with keen interest. The orchestra also serves to direct the feelings, for by means of the "Leitmotiv"[100] the music is able to reflect everything that takes place upon the stage; the slightest alteration of scenic effect, the slightest change of mood, in fact, every phase in the psychological development of the action has its orchestral response, and, as did the old chorus, the orchestra is thus enabled to furnish a continuous comment upon the action; for, "although music cannot think, the 'Leitmotiv' can produce a definite impression upon the feelings and incite them to a function akin to thought."[101] Thus the "ideal interest of the chorus in the action passes completely to the orchestra and is there manifested in continual but never troubling presence."[102]

But if the ideal aspect of the chorus is assumed by the orchestra, what then becomes of the old Greek chorus that had been taken over into the opera by the Italian musicians of the sixteenth century? This chorus went the way of the opera and soon came to have practically no significance beyond that of a group of singers. When in the nineteenth century Wagner undertook his reform of the opera, the chorus occupied an important place upon the operatic stage. But it had entirely lost the significance of its antique prototype and, since there was no room in the economy of the lyric drama for characters

[98] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[99] Cf. *Zukunftsmusik*, p. 172.

[100] The "Leitmotiv" is a definite musical phrase associated with each important character or event in the drama, and can be used to call to mind the idea which it represents at any time during the course of the action.

[101] Cf. R. Wagner, *Oper und Drama*, Vol. IV, p. 231.

[102] Cf. *Zukunftsmusik*, p. 173.

that had no part in the development of the action, it was banished save as an active personage in the plot, and in the Wagnerian dramas it appears on the stage only when its presence as such is required: as chorus of maidens in "Parzival," chorus of Walkyrs in "Die Walküre," or the chorus of pilgrims in "Tannhäuser."

The orchestra has, however, a far more vital and more essential duty than that of reflecting the lyric and dramatic elements of the action. It has an important share in the psychological development of the plot. In this rôle it accompanies the dramatic action; and whenever the action itself is not fully intelligible it conveys to the feelings the full significance of that action and thus takes the place of thought.[103] Thus, "while the orchestra as the harmonic carrier of the verse-melody alone confers upon the melody its definite expression, it, at the same time, keeps the melody in the requisite unceasing flow and thus convincingly impresses the inner motives of the dramatic action upon the feelings."[104] This is Wagner's "endless melody." The orchestra by unceasingly supporting and explaining the action, has an unbroken share in the dramatic action and succeeds in uniting the poetry and the music into one complete whole.

The antique chorus appealed primarily to the intellect, for the lyric portions of the Greek drama contained the profoundest thoughts of the whole composition; but it also appealed to the emotions through music and the rhythmic movements of the dance. "The modern orchestra has, however, assumed merely the emotional significance of the old chorus."[105] The antique chorus by its meditations lifts the mind above the confusion and turmoil of passing events to a contemplation of the great truths which the drama seeks to teach and thus, through thought, appeals to the understanding; whereas the orchestra by supplying the musical accompaniment for the words, and guiding the feelings along definite lines, conveys the teaching of the drama directly to the listener's emotions and itself takes the place of thought.

[103] Cf. *Oper und Drama*, p. 222.
[104] *Zukunftsmusik*, p. 172.
[105] *Oper und Drama*, p. 238.

This, then, is the final solution of the problem. For here and here only, when the chorus finds its proper medium of expression; when all the sensuous charm of the orchestration is employed for the express purpose of intensifying the dramatic emotion, does the chorus most nearly approach its ancient prototype and truly come to its own.

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COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY GERMANIC STUDIES

WIELAND AND SHAFTESBURY

WIELAND AND SHAFTESBURY

BY

CHARLES ELSON, PH.D.

AMS PRESS, INC.
NEW YORK
1966

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New York

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Original Publisher, 1966

AMS PRESS, INC.
New York, N.Y. 10003
1966

Manufactured in the United States of America

Approved for publication, on behalf of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures of Columbia University.

CALVIN THOMAS.

NEW YORK, July, 1913

Meinem hochgeschätzten Lehrer

HERRN PROFESSOR GUIDO C. L. RIEMER

PREFACE

The subject "Wieland and Shaftesbury" was first mentioned to me by my former teacher, Professor Guido C. L. Riemer of Bucknell College. But the idea of writing a dissertation on this subject was not fully decided upon until after I had written a seminar paper on Shaftesbury's relation to German thought in the 18th century, the seminar being conducted by Professor Calvin Thomas of Columbia University. I owe an unpayable debt to Professor Thomas for his encouragement and assistance in the preparation of this study and for excellent training in German scholarship. I also acknowledge my deep obligation to Professor Riemer of Bucknell, who has ever been an inexhaustible source of guidance and inspiration to me. And to Professor John A. Walz of Harvard I express my sincere gratitude for his constant deep interest in my work.

CHARLES ELSON

NEW YORK CITY,
April, 1913.

NOTE: When this dissertation was nearly through the press, there appeared in Stuttgart, Germany, a monograph by H. Grudzinski, entitled "Shaftesburys Einfluss auf Wieland," *Breslauer Beiträge, Heft* 34, 1913.

C. E.

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INTRODUCTION

It has long since been recognized that Shaftesbury was one of the most important teachers of Germany in the 18th century. During the great century of German letters, when there was much speculation about Virtue, Goodness and Beauty, and much interest in the ideal of a versatile and esthetically cultivated personality—it is not at all strange that the German mind should have turned eagerly to a philosopher who, at the beginning of the century, had been advocating the same ideals. Herder was quite right in saying that Shaftesbury "exerted a signal influence on the best heads of the century, on men who honestly devoted themselves to the culture of the true, the beautiful and the good."[1]

Shaftesbury influenced both the men of letters and the philosophers of Germany. As M. Koch observes,[2] he was studied in Germany no less than in England. His works began to appear in German translation—the first English edition of Shaftesbury's "Characteristics" appeared in 1711[3]—as early as 1738. In that year appeared in Magdeburg a translation by Venzky of "Soliloquy or Advice to an Author" under the title "Unterredungen mit sich selbst."[4] Translations of the "Moralists" and the "Inquiry,"[5] entitled respectively "Die

1 "Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität" (1794), Suphan edition of Herder's works, XVII, 158.

2 "Beziehungen der englischen Literatur zur deutschen im 18ten Jahrhundert," Leipzig, 1883, p. 9.

3 For a list of the English editions of Shaftesbury, some of which Wieland is known to have used, see the bibliography at the end of this book.

4 For the data of the Shaftesbury translations I am indebted, unless some other authority is mentioned, to P. Ziertmann: "Beiträge zur Kenntnis Shaftesburys," in *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, XVII (1904), 497 ff.

5 A French translation of the "Inquiry" by Diderot appeared in Amsterdam, 1745; 2d edition in 1751 in Venice. In 1709, in the Hague, there appeared a French translation of "Letter concerning Enthusiasm;" in 1710, in the Hague, a French translation of the "Essay concerning the Freedom of Wit and Humor."

Sittenlehrer" and "Untersuchung über die Tugend," appeared in Berlin in 1745 and 1747. Both translations are by Spalding.[6] Another translation of the "Inquiry" appeared in Leipzig, 1780. This was translated not from the original but from the French version of Diderot. Ziertmann has no information concerning the author of the translation.[7] The "Letters to a Young Man at the University" appeared in German translation in Halle, 1772.[8] Here again we are not informed as to the translator. In 1768 Wichmann's translation appeared in Leipzig, under the title "Anton Ashley Cooper Grafen von Shaftesbury Characteristics, aus dem Englischen übersetzt." The translation, in spite of its pretentious title, is not complete.[9] In 1776–9 a complete translation appeared in Leipzig: "Des Grafen von Shaftesbury philosophische Werke" in three volumes.[10] According to Hirschling, *Biographische Nachrichten,* Leipzig, XII, 1809, p. 61, H. Vosz translated the second volume and also a part of the first volume, which was begun by Hölty.[11] According to Gizycki,[12] Hölty and Bentzler are the translators.

Judging by this interest of the Germans in Shaftesbury it is quite evident that the investigator will find a very fruitful field in the general topic of Shaftesbury's influence on German thought. Several phases of the subject have already been treated in individual monographs. From its purely philosophical side the subject is approached by G. Zart: "Der Einflusz der englischen Philosophen seit Bacon auf die deutsche

[6] H. Jördens: *Lexikon deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten* (1809), IV, 706, 713. Cf. also Scheffner's letter to Herder, Oct. 27, 1767: "Herder's Lebensbild," I², 281.

[7] A very recent translation of the "Inquiry" by P. Ziertmann appeared in 1905 in *Dürrs philosophische Bibliothek,* CX, Leipzig. Cf. Oscar F. Walzel: "Shaftesbury und das deutsche Geistesleben des 18 Jahrhunderts" in *Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift,* 1909, p. 420.

[8] See Ziertmann, p. 499.

[9] Gizycki: "Die Philosophie Shaftesburys," Leipzig & Heidelberg, 1876, p. v.

[10] A French translation of Shaftesbury's works and letters, in three volumes, entitled "Les Oeuvres de Mylord Comte de Shaftesbury," appeared in 1769.

[11] Quoted by Ziertmann, p. 498.

[12] "Die Philosophie Shaftesburys," p. v.

Philosophie des 18 Jahrhunderts."[13] Among the other English philosophers Zart also treats, but rather briefly, Shaftesbury's relation to German philosophers, such as Mendelssohn, Eberhard, Sulzer, etc. Shaftesbury's influence on Herder is dealt with by I. C. Hatch in his dissertation: "Der Einflusz Shaftesburys auf Herder."[14] And Shaftesbury's influence upon Haller is treated by Georg Bondi in his dissertation: "Das Verhältnis von Hallers philosophischen Gedichten zur Philosophie seiner Zeit."[15] But above all I wish to mention here Oscar F. Walzel's excellent article: "Shaftesbury und das deutsche Geistesleben des 18 Jahrhunderts," which appeared in *Die Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift,* 1909, pp. 416–437. Here Walzel enumerates the more notable works dealing with Shaftesbury's philosophy in general and with his relation to German thought. Besides setting forth what had already been accomplished in the field, the author suggests here and there what is yet to be done. I am indebted to this article for giving me a starting point in my special study and for furnishing me with bibliographical data, of which I made considerable use in my preliminary orientation for the main work.

The purpose of this dissertation is to trace the nature and extent of Shaftesbury's influence on Wieland. This investigation, however, does not pretend to be a pioneering work on the subject, for Wieland's relation to Shaftesbury has more than once been mentioned by critics and biographers. In the aforementioned article O. F. Walzel refers to Wieland's relation to Shaftesbury as belonging "Unter die bekanntesten Partien der deutschen Geistesgeschichte des 18 Jahrhunderts."[16] In his "Beziehungen der englischen Literatur zur deutschen im 18 Jahrhundert" M. Koch remarks that no other philosopher exerted as much influence as Shaftesbury on Wieland's entire philosophy of life.[17] The same statement is repeated in his article on Wieland in "Die Allgemeine Deutsche Bio-

[13] Berlin, 1881.

[14] Published in *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte,* edited by M. Koch.

[15] Leipzig, 1891.

[16] *Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift,* 1909, p. 430.

[17] Cf. p. 12.

graphie."[18] In his biography of Wieland, J. G. Gruber states that Shaftesbury was Wieland's intimate friend. He tells us that Wieland adopted Shaftesbury's suggestion concerning the importance of self-communion or self-investigation, also that Wieland identified Socrates' *kalokagathia* with Shaftesbury's virtuoso-ideal. Without attempting to prove his statement Gruber also remarks that everything written by Wieland in 1753–5 shows the influence of either Plato or Shaftesbury.[19] And from J. W. Loebell we have the statement that Wieland and Shaftesbury resembled each other in their entire way of thinking, in the method by which they sought for the good and beautiful, in the conviction that happiness has its source in the predominance of noble and benevolent feelings, in the notion that a cheerful mind is a touchstone of a right disposition.[20]

As can readily be seen, no attempt is made in any of these statements to make an actual contribution to the subject. Such an attempt, however, has been made by F. Pomezny: "Grazie und Grazien in der deutschen Literatur des 18 Jahrhunderts"[21] and by E. Ermatinger: "Die Weltanschauung des jungen Wieland."[22] In the fourth chapter, entitled "Wieland's Grazien," Pomezny says that Wieland's *moralische Grazie* comes from Shaftesbury's "moral grace," and that Wieland had learned from Shaftesbury and Plato his conception of spiritual beauty. To illustrate his point he quotes a few passages from the following works, which appeared prior to 1760: "Anti-Ovid," "Erinnerungen an eine Freundin," "Cyrus," "Theages." He also mentions three personal references of Wieland to Shaftesbury. Ermatinger devotes several pages to Shaftesbury's influence on Wieland. He discusses briefly the relation between the Greek *kalokagathia* and Shaftesbury's "virtuoso" and mentions Wieland's relation to both. He also mentions several personal allusions of Wieland to Shaftesbury and points out Shaftesburian views in a few passages from "Timoklea,"

[18] Cf. XLII (1897), 412.

[19] "Wieland geschildert von Gruber," Leipzig and Altenburg, 1815 (in 2 volumes), I, 164–6, 76.

[20] "Die Entwicklung der deutschen Poesie von Klopstocks erstem Auftreten bis zu Goethes Tode," Braunschweig, 1858, II, 142–3.

[21] Edited by B. Seuffert, Hamburg & Leipzig, 1900.

[22] Frauenfeld, 1907.

"Sympathien," "Theages," "Plan einer neuen Art von Privat-Unterweisung" and "Plan einer Akademie zu Bildung des Verstandes und Herzens junger Leute." Shaftesbury's influence on Wieland, however, is but very slightly touched by making a general remark or by quoting a passage here and there from the youthful works of our author. In fact, the great bulk of Shaftesbury's influence comes into Wieland's works after 1760 and abides more or less in his entire literary career. A real investigation of this influence necessitates the careful consideration of Wieland's whole life-work. Such an investigation, as Walzel very properly suggests,[23] is still lacking, and my monograph undertakes to supply this want.

The following general plan has been adopted as the most suitable for this study. The first chapter treats the direct evidence of Wieland's life-long interest in Shaftesbury—the evidence consisting of Wieland's own utterances. The second chapter discusses the principal aspects of Shaftesbury's philosophy. In this chapter I also treat as briefly as possible Shaftesbury's points of contact with other philosophers, both ancient and modern. The remaining chapters are then devoted to tracing Shaftesbury's doctrines in Wieland's poetical and philosophical works and in his letters. Instead of pursuing these doctrines in chronological order it seemed best to me to arrange them in categories. This method, however, at once presents a difficulty, because certain philosophical doctrines almost defy classification into categories. The classification, it must be admitted, is in some cases arbitrary.

For Wieland's works I refer for the greater part either to the Hempel or the Göschen edition. Gruber's edition, however, is more convenient in the case of Wieland's youthful works, such as "Natur der Dinge," "Moralische Briefe," "Briefe von Verstorbenen," etc., because it numbers the verses; and so, for quotations from these works I refer to Gruber's edition. For the same reason I refer for "Musarion" to Pröhle's edition in the "Deutsche National-Literatur." In the case of Shaftesbury the reader is referred to the Baskerville edition (1773) of the "Characteristics."

23 *Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift*, 1909, p. 430.

CHAPTER I

Direct Evidence of Wieland's Interest in Shaftesbury

There is abundant evidence in Wieland's own words of his life-long admiration for, and interest in, the writings of Shaftesbury. The earliest datable reference known to me is from the year 1755. On March 15 of that year he conversed with Friedrich Dominicus Ring[1] concerning Shaftesbury and the "Characteristics," and in his diary Ring reports him as saying in effect: that Shaftesbury never misses an opportunity of mocking at religion; that his principle of raillery has been harmful to religion; that the best way to refute him is to accept the notions of virtue taught by him, and to show that the Christian religion is not inconsistent with his own notions. At this early period, therefore,—Wieland was born in 1733—he was already acquainted with Shaftesbury's ideas of virtue and his doctrine of raillery. With regard to the latter subject he afterward changed his mind, as will be seen later when we come to discuss Wieland's treatment of the doctrine.

In the "Plan einer Akademie," written in 1756 but not published until 1758, he refers to Shaftesbury as "der geistreichste und feinste aller modernen Scribenten" and alludes to a specific passage in the "Miscellaneous Reflections," where the "virtuoso" is discussed.[2]

In January, 1758,[3] in a document issued against Nicolai and Uz, Wieland explains his attitude as a poet, declares that Shaftesbury has taught him what it means to be an author,

[1] See *Schnorrs Archiv für Literaturgeschichte,* XIII (1885), 485 ff. Wieland's remarks concerning Shaftesbury occur on p. 496. Ring was a student at Zürich in 1753–5 and kept a diary in which he recorded among other things the substance of several conversations with Wieland. This particular conversation was contributed to *Schnorrs Archiv* by H. Funck in an article entitled "Gespräche mit Chr. M. Wieland in Zürich."

[2] "Prosaische Schriften" (Zürich, 1758), III, 112.

[3] This is the date of the appearance of the document, according to B. Seuffert: "Mitteilungen aus Wielands Jünglingsalter," *Euphorion,* XIV, 228.

and expresses a desire that all German authors should know it.[4]

His thorough acquaintance with Shaftesbury's "Inquiry" and "Moralists" is attested by his praise in a letter to Zimmermann of Sept. 6, 1756, of the method of these works: "Shaftesbury knew what method is. His 'Treatise upon Virtue' and his 'Moralists' are more fit to teach good method than the most detailed treatise on the subject. The 'Moralists,' which *par ironie* he calls a rhapsody, is just as systematic as the 'Inquiry concerning Virtue'; but in the former the systematic treatment is concealed behind an appearance of pleasant negligence."[5]

Wieland's study of Shaftesbury was thorough enough to include even such a minor work as the "Letter concerning Design." In "Theages" (1755–1758) he refers to an opinion expressed by Shaftesbury in the "Letter" aforesaid. "I am of the opinion, says Nicias (one of the speakers in "Theages"), that a moral code consisting of allegorical paintings, in accordance with the idea expressed by Shaftesbury in his 'Letter on the Choice of Hercules,'[6] would be an excellent means to cultivate the taste and heart of young people."[7]

Oct. 18, 1758, Wieland writes to Zimmermann that among his books "there are only a few choice ones which, like bread, do not become intolerable even when all other spiritual food is disgusting. Among these (choice works) are Xenophon, Plutarch, Horace and Shaftesbury."[8] In a letter of July 4,

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 236.

[5] "Ausgewählte Briefe von C. M. Wieland an verschiedene Freunde" (Zürich, 1815, 4 volumes), I, 280.

[6] Shaftesbury's "Letter concerning Design" was occasioned directly by his treatise "A notion of the Tablature of the Judgment of Hercules."

[7] Göschen, XXXIII, 232. Wieland alludes here to Shaftesbury's idea found in the "Letter concerning Design" in the "Characteristics" III, 409, which is expressed as follows: "The picture itself, whatever the treatise proved, would have been worth notice and might have become a present worthy of our court and princes' palace. Such a piece of furniture might well fit the gallery or hall of exercise, where our young princes should learn their usual lessons. And to see virtue in this garb and action might perhaps be no slight memorandum hereafter to a royal youth who should one day come to undergo this trial himself."

[8] "Ausgewählte Briefe," I, 297.

1759, to the same correspondent, he speaks of his difficulty in vying with Shaftesbury, Diderot and Rousseau.[9]

By May 1, 1760, he was planning a translation of Shaftesbury: "Among my other plans," he writes to Zimmermann, "is to give Germany a complete translation of Shaftesbury. Since his 'Inquiry' and 'Moralists' have already been translated by Mr. Spalding there remain only the 'Letter concerning Enthusiasm,' the treatise on 'Wit and Humor,' the 'Advice to an Author' and the 'Miscellanies.'"[10]

In 1782 Wieland makes considerable use of Shaftesbury in the translation of Horace's epistles. In the introduction to the third letter to Piso he says that he will present at once the point of view from which the letter must be considered, and adds that, "following a hint of the excellent Lord Shaftesbury," he has employed the same procedure in all the other letters of Horace.[11] Speaking of the character of Maecenas, he says that, without knowing the characters of Maecenas, Augustus, Florus and the like, one cannot find sufficient relish in the letters written to them, unless he has a tender feeling for the true and the beautiful. This opinion is introduced by the statement, "Ich bin mit Shaftesbury völlig überzeugt," and is concluded by an allusion in a foot-note to the "Characteristics, Vol. III, Misc. I, C. 3."[12] Speaking of Horace, he says that, even if he had not been such a good poet, he would have become Maecenas' friend through the elegance of his mind and morals, through his wit, his pleasant humor—"kurz, durch alles das, weswegen ihn Shaftesbury the most Gentleman-like of Roman poets nennt."[13] And in a foot-note we are referred by Wieland to the "Characteristics, Vol. I, p. 328."[14] Further on he expresses a certain opinion concerning the relation between Horace and Brutus, but he gets the opinion from Shaftesbury, for he says: "Ich glaube mit Shaftesbury nicht zu irren,

[9] *Ibid.*, II, 47.

[10] *Ibid.*, II, 132.

[11] "Horazens Briefe übersetzt" (Leipzig, 1816), II, 187.

[12] *Ibid.*, I, 5. The passage referred to is found in our edition, III, 21.

[13] *Ibid.*, I, 19.

[14] This passage occurs in our edition in exactly the same volume and on exactly the same page (I, 328).

wenn," etc.[15] All these references go to show that Wieland must at that time have had his Shaftesbury constantly before him.

Also twenty years later Wieland has Shaftesbury open before him, for he quotes specific passages from the "Characteristics." In the *Vorbericht* to the translation of Xenophon's "Symposium" he speaks in lofty terms concerning Xenophon and says: "Sehr richtig nennt ihn daher der scharfsinnige und echt classische Shaftesbury in seinem 'Advice to an Author' den philosophischen Menander der früheren Zeit."[16] In a foot-note he refers to the Thurneisen edition of the "Characteristics," Vol. I, p. 218.[17] A little further on we are told that some readers unacquainted with the Greeks of that period will conceive exaggerated notions of Xenophon, but that it is not Xenophon's fault if the readers lack a feeling for—Wieland continues in Shaftesbury's words—"die Göttlichkeit der schönen Einfalt des Liebenswürdigsten und Geist und Herz mehr als irgend ein anderer erhebenden unter allen blos menschlichen Schriftstellern."[18] And in a foot-note we are referred to the passage where these words occur, the Thurneisen edition of the "Characteristics," Vol. III, p. 205.[19]

Dating from the same year, 1802, we have from Wieland's hand a long eulogy of Shaftesbury and a declaration of his indebtedness to him. In his *Neuer Teutscher Merkur* he published a criticism of Herder's "Adrastea," mentioning among others the articles on Locke, Swift and Shaftesbury, and adding the following significant statement, which in spite of its length is worth giving in the original: "Vor allem aber kann ich mir's nicht versagen, Adrasteen meinen wärmsten Dank öffentlich darzubringen für die herrliche Karakteristik des liebenswürdigsten aller neuen Schriftsteller, des Grafen Anton von Shaftesbury, welchem ich selbst einen so groszen Theil

[15] *Ibid.*, II, 18. This opinion is expressed by Shaftesbury in the "Miscellanies," III, 249–50, of our edition.

[16] *Attisches Museum*, IV[1], 72.

[17] In our edition of Shaftesbury this passage occurs in I, 255.

[18] *Attisches Museum*, IV[1], 73.

[19] In our edition these words occur in III, 248 and read as follows: "the divineness of a just simplicity of the most amiable and even the most elevating and exalting of all uninspired and merely human authors."

meiner eigenen Bildung in meinen früheren Jahren schuldig bin und der stärker auf mich gewirkt hat als ich ohne Beschämung sagen kann, da ich demungeachtet so weit hinter ihm zurückgeblieben bin. Dank, herzlicher Dank sei Adrasteen für die Gerechtigkeit, welche sie diesem Edeln und Einzigen widerfahren liesz, in welchem Platons hoher Idealism mit Xenophons Sokratischer Kalokagathie und Sofrosyne und Horazens weisem Frohsinn so schön vereinigt war! Dank für die vortreffliche Apologie dieses (zu ihrer Schmach) von so vielen Britten noch immer verkannten, so oft schief und hämisch beurteilten Wiederherstellers der reinen Sokratischen Lehre gegen seine eigenen Landesleute und ihre Nachlaller unter den Unsrigen! Dank endlich für die zartschonende Billigkeit, womit sie die wenigen Blöszen bedeckt, wodurch Er selbst, nach der höchsten Strenge beurteilt, zu den Miszverständnissen seiner Tadler und Verleumder Gelegenheit gegeben haben mag."[20]

And even as late as July 11, 1808, Shaftesbury is still Wieland's companion. In a letter of that date we are told that in the evening between 5 and 7 he may be found "in the company of a Cicero, Horace, Lucian or Shaftesbury."[21]

Wieland's profound interest in Shaftesbury is also shown by the variety of Shaftesbury-editions used by him. He is not satisfied with merely one certain edition, but knows all the German translations of Shaftesbury and consults several English editions of the "Characteristics." In 1756, speaking of the "virtuoso" in his "Plan einer Akademie," he refers to the "Characteristics," Tom III, Miscellany, III, Chap. I.[22] This must have been some English edition as seen, in the first place, from the English terms "Miscellany" and "Chapter." Secondly, the edition referred to could not have been a German translation, because whatever German translations appeared prior to 1756 did not include the "Miscellaneous Reflections."

In the February issue of the *Merkur* of 1777 there is a review of the German translation of Shaftesbury; "Des Grafen von Shaftesbury philosophische Werke aus dem Englischen

[20] *Neuer Teutscher Merkur*, April, 1802, pp. 295–6.
[21] "Auswahl denkwürdiger Briefe," II, 118.
[22] "Prosaische Schriften," III, 112.

übersetzt. 1er Band, Leipzig, 1776. In der Weigandschen Handlung." The review, which is evidently by Wieland, reads in part as follows: The translation is very good and the author felt the irony of the original. It is a good sign for the condition of religion and literature of the times that it did not seem necessary, as ten years ago, to edit the works of Shaftesbury with notes to counteract the poison of the original. The older translations of a Venzky and a Wichmann contained enough of an antidote in the stiff tone of their pedantic work. Whatever may be said against Shaftesbury's diction or character, he remains for us at all times a model of fine composition, of which our modern authors endeavor to know so little.[23]

This review shows not only Wieland's acquaintance with the original, but also with the German translations of 1738, 1768 and 1776–9. That he at least knew of Spalding's translation of the "Moralists" and "Inquiry" appears from the aforementioned letter to Zimmermann, May 1, 1760.

In his translation of Horace's letters (1782) Wieland mentions that Shaftesbury calls Horace "the most gentleman-like of Roman poets" and refers to the "Characteristics, Vol. I, p. 328." The terms are again English and the reference corresponds volume for volume and page for page to the Baskerville edition of 1773. This would go to show that Wieland made use also of the Baskerville edition.

After 1790 Wieland seems to have confined himself entirely to the English Thurneisen and Legrand edition, which appeared in Basel in 1790. He watches the edition with special interest in its process of going through the press and makes constant use of it after its appearance. Thus, in the October number of the *Merkur* of 1787 there is an announcement by Wieland of the prospective publication by Thurneisen of a series of the best English historians, philosophers and poets, the series containing among other things Shaftesbury's "Characteristics" and Letters.[24] And two years later he expresses his impatience at the delayed appearance of the edition of Shaftesbury.[25] The edition was finally advertised in the September number of

23 *Teutscher Merkur,* Feb., 1777, pp. 201–2.

24 See p. cxlvi, ff.

25 July number, 1789, p. 112.

1792.[26] That Wieland made considerable use of the Thurneisen edition appears from his frequent direct allusions to it. Thus, for instance, the two allusions in the *Vorbericht* to Xenophon's "Symposium" (1802), the allusion in the notes of "Der neue Amadis" (2nd edition, 1794) and the one in the "Sendschreiben an Prof. Eggers" (1792) are all to this edition of Shaftesbury.[27] In the last allusion Wieland states the names of both publishers and the year and place of publication.

These notices are sufficient to prove Wieland's deep and lasting interest in Shaftesbury. In the face of all this evidence it would be strange indeed if the philosopher had not exerted a considerable influence on the poet. Both Shaftesbury and Wieland, however, owed a considerable debt to Greek philosophy, especially to Plato[28] and Xenophon. Hence, in order to see how and when Shaftesbury came into Wieland's intellectual life as a distinct factor, it is necessary to devote a few words to Wieland's early studies of Plato and Xenophon.

Wieland became acquainted with Plato, Xenophon, and through them with Socrates, very early in life. As may be seen from references to Plato in "Die Natur der Dinge"[29] and "Moralische Briefe,"[30] Wieland must have made a study of Plato by 1752. A course in Plato was probably a part of his school curriculum at Klosterbergen (1747–1749). The Platonic influence is quite evident in his earliest works,—his first work "Die Natur der Dinge" appeared in 1752—dating before 1755. But even at this early period Plato is not an independent factor in Wieland's intellectual life, for what he learns from Plato he blends with what is learned almost simultaneously, or a very short time afterwards, from Shaftesbury.

[26] Sept., 1792, p. 102.

[27] Cf. *Attisches Museum,* IV[1], 72 and 73; Göschen, XV, 293; Hempel, XXXIV, 169.

[28] Herder saw enough resemblance between Shaftesbury and Plato to call the former "der liebenswürdige Plato Europas." Cf. R. Haym: "Herder nach seinem Leben und Wirken," Berlin, 1885, II, 268.

[29] Book I, line 10 (Gruber, I, 13); book III, line 120 (p. 77), line 331 (p. 85), line 571 (p. 96).

[30] 1er Brief, line 131 (Gruber I, 229); 2er Brief, line 161 (p. 240); 7er Brief, line 87 (p. 277); 9er Brief, line 214 (p. 303).

As a result of this a good many things in Wieland's earliest works have a pronounced Shaftesburian tinge. In the "Sympathien" (1755) he tells us to learn "Von einem Platon oder Shaftesbury was Natur und Tugend ist."[31] And in the *Vorbericht* to "Theages" he speaks of the leisure which he had *several years ago* to study the works of Plato and Shaftesbury.[32] "Theages" did not appear until 1758, but Wieland had been working on it since 1755. It is impossible to determine the exact time to which Wieland refers, but I am inclined to think that "vor einigen Jahren" refers at least to the beginning of the fifties, when his literary career begins. As it appears from the above-mentioned conversation with Ring, at the beginning of 1755, Wieland was then familiar with Shaftesbury's philosophy as a whole, and it is quite likely that the study of Shaftesbury claimed his attention several years before 1755. In his brief statement concerning Wieland's relation to Shaftesbury, M. Koch even goes so far as to assert that it was through Shaftesbury that Wieland acquired an interest in Plato.[33]

Also with Xenophon Wieland becomes acquainted very early, for already at Klosterbergen (1747–9) Xenophon is his favorite and contributes much to his education.[34] But also Xenophon's influence is manifested aside from the Shaftesburian influence. Thus, "Cyrus" (1759) and "Araspes und Panthea" (1760) are largely the fruits of the study of Xenophon, but in both works Shaftesbury is very much in evidence. In the introductory verses of "Cyrus" he calls upon Truth to point out to him:

"Jene sittliche Venus, die einst dein (Truth's) Xenophon kannte
Und dein Ashley[35] mit ihm, die Mutter des geistigen Schönen."[36]

The character of Cyrus, which is also a prominent feature in

31 "Sympathien," Göschen XXIX, 25.

32 "Prosaische Schriften," I, 141.

33 "Beziehungen der englischen Literatur zur deutschen im 18 Jahrhundert," Leipzig, 1883, p. 12.

34 Letter to L. Meister, Dec. 28, 1787, "Ausgewählte Briefe," III, 382.

35 Shaftesbury's full name was Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3d Earl of Shaftesbury.

36 "Cyrus," 1st Canto, lines 28–9, Gruber, IV, 4.

"Araspes und Panthea," was suggested to him, as he tells us in the *Zuschrift,* by Xenophon's Muse and Shaftesbury's Moral Venus.[37] The episode of "Araspes und Panthea" is also found in Shaftesbury's "Advice to an Author."[38]

The most important result of Wieland's study of Xenophon was the knowledge acquired of Socrates.[39] On several occasions he recommends Xenophon's *Memorabilia* as the best and purest source for a knowledge of Socrates.[40] He was especially impressed by the Socratic ideal of *kalokagathia.* He frequently alludes to this ideal[41] and discusses it on a number of occasions. But as in the case of Plato and Xenophon, so also in the case of Socrates, Shaftesbury comes in for his share of the influence. Wieland blends the Socratic *kalokagathia* with the Shaftesburian "virtuoso."[42]

All this goes to show that Shaftesbury was a prominent factor even in the earliest period of Wieland's literary career—the period which extends roughly to about 1760—and that he was a constant companion of Wieland's Greek favorites, Plato, Xenophon and Socrates. Shaftesbury's influence, however, is much more extensive. He is, as Goethe said, Wieland's "wahrhafter älterer Zwillingsbruder im Geiste."[43] In fact, Wieland's transition to the second period of his career, that epoch-making period which gave us his "Musarion," "Agathon," "Oberon," and the like,—this transition coincided with his more intimate acquaintance with Shaftesbury. It will now be in order to compare these two periods in order that we may

[37] *Zuschrift* to "Araspes und Panthea" (edition of 1760, Zürich), p. vii.

[38] "Characteristics," I, 176 ff.

[39] Wieland refers very frequently to Socrates as early as 1752. Cf. "Moralische Briefe" (Gruber, Vol. I), 1er Brief, lines 72, 184; 4er Brief, line 17; 9er Brief, lines 45, 98, 213, 233, 249.

[40] *Teutscher Merkur,* Dec., 1783, p. clxxviii. Also the foreword to "Xenophons Sokratische Gespräche," *Attisches Museum,* Vol. III.

[41] Letter to Zimmermann, Feb. 24, 1758, "Ausgewählte Briefe," I, 256; to Hottinger, Jan. 30, 1797, *ibid.,* IV, 38; "Der neue Amadis" (1771), Göschen, XV., 135; "Agathon," Göschen, IV, 4; "Socratische Gespräche" in *Attisches Museum,* III[1], 129; "Aristipp," XXIII, 206. In none of these allusions, however, is the doctrine directly discussed.

[42] "Plan einer Akademie," in "Prosaische Schriften," III, 112; also note to "Theages," Göschen, XXXIII, 414.

[43] "Werke," Hempel edition, XXVII[2], 60.

clearly see the part played by Shaftesbury in Wieland's transition from the first to the second period.

Wieland was born at a time (1733) when pietism had made considerable headway in Germany, owing to the efforts of Spener, Francke and others, and was brought up—his father was a minister—in a strictly pietistic atmosphere. He received a similar training at Klosterbergen (1747–9) under Steinmetz and breathed the same general atmosphere in the home of Bodmer (1752–4). His mind became seraphically inclined and began to wander in etherial regions. He acquired a peculiar religiosity, which he combined with his Platonic studies, and became a *Schwärmer*. The sexual nature of man had no part in his philosophy of life at that time, his early love for his cousin Sophie von Gutermann having been a Platonic passion. From the heights of his seraphic aversion to the common herd he glorified those "worthy men who live far from the world in lonely valleys."[44] He was very fond of solitude and often spent entire days and nights in the garden to observe and to portray the beauties of nature.[45] He even entertained the idea of becoming a hermit.[46] His early zeal for religion and piety was without the spirit of tolerance and had rather the nature of fanaticism. This is shown among other things by his condemnation of Ovid, Anacreon, Tibullus[47] and several French and English poets such as Chaulieu,

[44] "Briefe von Verstorbenen an hinterlassene Freunde" (1753), 3d letter lines, 94 ff. Gruber, II, 234.

[45] Letter to Bodmer, 1752, "Ausgewählte Briefe," I, 47.

[46] "Sympathien," Göschen, XXIX, 13. Alcest is here the man desiring to retire into seclusion, but in a letter to Zimmermann of Sept. 6, 1758, we are told that Alcest is none other than Wieland himself. Cf. "Ausgewählte Briefe," I, 285.

[47] In his "Schreiben von der Würde und Bestimmung eines schönen Geistes" (1752) Wieland identifies himself with the cause of "Belehrende und bessernde Dichtung" and attacks the "Priester der Unsinns." Cf. p. xxvii of Sauer's introduction to Uz' "Sämmtliche poetische Werke," Stuttgart, 1890 (in numbers 33–8 of the *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale*, edited by B. Seuffert). In the second edition of the "Schreiben von der Würde," etc., which appeared in 1754 in "Fragmente der erzählenden Dichtart von verschiedenem Inhalte," Wieland attacks directly "the innumerable Tibulluses and Anacreons" of today (cf. Sauer's Introduction, p. xxvii).

Gay and Prior. To this period belongs also the attack upon Uz.[48]

Gradually, however, there came a change in Wieland's view of life, and this change began to manifest itself precisely at the time when he acquired a deeper interest in Shaftesbury. As he enters upon his second period, which may be said to extend from 1760 to 1780, Wieland leaves his seraphic world of pietism. He gets rid of Bodmer's influence, and fanaticism falls away from him. He is no longer an ascetic and begins more and more "to familiarize himself with the people of the low world" (bas-monde).[49] He regrets his former fanatic act of condemning poets like Ovid, La Fontaine and especially Uz. He apologizes for this atack, announces his fondness for Prior and Gay, speaks of Uz as one of the best minds of the nation and characterizes his former attitude to him as "alberne Severität."[50]

This great change which led Wieland to declare "non sum qualis eram"[51] was also noticed by his contemporaries Lessing and Goethe. On the appearance of "Lady Johanna Gray" (1758) Lessing rejoices that "Wieland has left the etherial spheres, and that he wanders again among the children of men."[52] And Goethe speaks of this transition as follows: Wieland's youth passed in realms of the idealistic world, but in his maturity he came out into the real world and has ever since kept the balance between the two.[53]

Among the causes that contributed to this change in Wieland's entire attitude should be mentioned his intercourse with Julie Bondeli during his sojourn in Bern (1759–60) and

[48] The Uz controversy is discussed by L. Hirzel in his "Wieland und Martin und Regula Künzli," Leipzig, 1891, pp. 121–32 and in Sauer's Introduction to Uz' poetical works, pp. xx–lxii.

[49] Letters to Zimmermann, Apr. 26, 1759; Nov. 8, 1762; Mar. 12, 1758; "Ausgewählte Briefe," I, 365; II, 194; I, 259.

[50] "Unterredungen mit dem Pfarrer . . ." (1775), Hempel, XXXII, 225. Letter to Julie Bondeli, July 16, 1764: "Ausgewählte Briefe," II, 241–5; to Zimmermann, March 12, 1758, *ibid.*, I, 260; Gleim, Feb. 4, 1768, *ibid.*, II, 296. Riedel, Jan. 19, 1769, "Auswahl denkwürdiger Briefe," I, 247. Geszner, May 4, 1764, *ibid.*, I, 9.

[51] To Zimmermann, Nov. 8, 1762, "Ausgewählte Briefe," II, 194.

[52] Lessing's "Briefe die neueste Literatur betreffend," 63d letter, Lachmann-Muncker edition, VIII, 166.

[53] "Dichtung und Wahrheit," Book 7, Hempel, XXI, 54.

especially his contact with Stadion and La Roche. After a long activity in the service of the Elector of Mainz, Count Friedrich Stadion had retired to his castle at Warthausen near Biberach. He had with him his secretary, La Roche, and Wieland, who was at this time councilor at Biberach,[54] spent very enjoyable and profitable hours at Warthausen. Stadion and La Roche were both men of the world, perfectly virtuous, free from fanaticism, always serene and cheerful. To use in substance Gruber's words: Wieland found at Warthausen religion without superstition, philosophy without empty metaphysics, fun and cheer free from all blemish, love which is without fanaticism and makes life happy.[55] His association with La Roche and Stadion, the latter especially, contributed very much, as Wieland himself reports a quarter of a century later, to the rectification and extension of his knowledge of men and the world.[56]

But this great change in Wieland's life began to manifest itself before his coming into contact with La Roche and Stadion. It is in Shaftesbury's philosophy that he first found the healthy atmosphere of a man of the world, religion without fanaticism, self-communion without asceticism, spiritual refinement without warfare against the sensual nature of man. Wieland's study of Shaftesbury is especially prominent between 1755–60, which is precisely the time when the change begins. His works and letters of this period are full of allusions to the English philosopher. To the allusions discussed above the following may be added.[57] In 1755 he urges Amyntor, the hero of the 13th *Sympathie,* to be "one of the few for whom the wise Shaftesbury has not written in vain his 'Advice to an Author.'"[58] March 12, 1758, he refers to Shaftesbury

[54] He was elected to this position in 1760.

[55] "Wieland geschildert von Gruber," I, 152.

[56] Letter to L. Meister, Dec. 28, 1787, "Ausgewählte Briefe," III, 386. In a letter to Geszner of March 20, 1769, he glorifies the characters of Stadion and La Roche. Cf. "Auswahl denkwürdiger Briefe," I, 94, ff.

[57] The following few allusions and those discussed above by no means exhaust everything said by Wieland concerning Shaftesbury during this period. The allusions that are still left will be treated in connection with the discussion of the various Shaftesburian views in Wieland's works.

[58] "Prosaische Schriften," I, 103, or Göschen, XXIX, 55.

as saying that men are musical instruments.[59] Oct. 18, 1758, he speaks of Klopstock's "Messias" and remarks that Shaftesbury would find *non-sense* in it even if he could read it in German.[60] Nov. 8, 1758, he again criticises Klopstock's "Messias" and adds that these and many other things would have been said by Shaftesbury "tausendmal feiner, sinnreicher und bestimmter."[61] And in the same letter he remarks that what Shaftesbury would have said concerning the "Messias" appears very clearly in the "Advice to an Author."[62]

In the meantime the study of Plato seems to be neglected. References to Plato occur in Wieland's works after 1760,[63] but Nov. 8, 1762, he speaks of having given up his study of Plato.[64] Still earlier, March 12, 1758, he reports that he is not as Platonic as he is considered to be.[65] During this very same year, when Wieland ceases to care for Plato, he seems to have devoted almost his entire attention to Shaftesbury; during 1758 he alludes to and speaks about the English philosopher more than in any other year. As he comes into the new world he finds it necessary to modify his Platonism considerably, and he reports simultaneously of having given up his Platonic studies and of having ceased to be a mystic and ascetic.[66] But just at this time his interest in Shaftesbury is most prominent. "Cyrus" and "Araspes und Panthea" are indicated by him

[59] Letter to Zimmermann, "Ausgewählte Briefe," I, 261; Wieland undoubtedly refers here to the following words of Shaftesbury (I, 274): "Let the authors and poets complain ever so much of the genius of our people, 'tis evident we are not altogether so barbarous and Gothic as they pretend. We are naturally no ill soil and have musical parts which might be cultivated with greater advantage, if these gentlemen would use the art of masters in their composition."

[60] To Zimmermann, "Ausgewählte Briefe," I, 298.

[61] To Zimmermann, *ibid.*, I, 308.

[62] *Ibid.*, I, 306.

[63] See, for instance, "Don Sylvio" (1764), Göschen, I, 86; "Idris und Zenide" (1768), 5th canto, 83d stanza and 99th stanza, Hempel, XVI, 108 and 111; "Der neue Amadis" (1771), 11th canto, 31st stanza, Göschen, XV; "Die Abderiten" (1774–1781), Göschen, XIII, 17; "Agathon," Part III, Göschen, VI, 66; "Aristipp," Part III, Göschen, XXIV, 154.

[64] "Ausgewählte Briefe," II, 195; "Platon a fait place à Horace, Young à Chaulieu," etc.

[65] To Zimmermann, *ibid.*, I, 259.

[66] *Ibid.*, II, 241, 194–5.

as the first fruits of his transition to the second period.[67] But in both these works, as we have seen, Shaftesbury is very much in evidence. Moreover, it is at the same time that he begins to "familiarize himself with the people of this world," to "love the beautiful, the good, the great and the sublime," and —to "aspire to the character of Shaftesbury's virtuoso."[68]

[67] To L. Meister, *ibid.*, III, 385.
[68] To Zimmermann, March 12, 1758, *ibid.*, I, 259.

CHAPTER II

The Salient Features of Shaftesbury's Philosophy

It will be impossible for any one to follow the reflection of Shaftesbury's doctrines in Wieland's works until he has a clear idea of the more fundamental Shaftesburian views. It is necessary, therefore, to devote a chapter to the exposition of those views.

1. *Esthetics and Morality. Art and Virtue*

Shaftesbury was a moral-esthetic philosopher, and the identification of esthetics and morality is the chief feature of his philosophy. The good is beautiful, the beautiful is true. All beauty is truth. True features make a face beautiful, true proportions make the beauty of architecture, true measures the beauty of music. Harmony is the essential feature underlying both goodness and beauty. Harmonious coordination of parts into one whole makes for beauty in the physical world, while symmetry and proportion in our sentiments and actions produce that inner beauty, for which morality is only a synonym.[1] The most delightful beauty pursued by virtuosos and celebrated by poets is the beauty drawn from real life. The most natural beauty in the world is honesty and moral truth. "Who can admire the outward beauties, and not recur instantly to the inward, which are the most real and essential, the most naturally affecting, and of the highest pleasure as well as profit and advantage?"[2] Surely there is *workmanship* and *truth* in actions. "The real honest man has honesty in view, and instead of outward forms or symmetries is struck with that of inward character, the harmony and numbers of the heart, the beauty of the affections, which form the manners and conduct of a truly social life."[3]

[1] Cf. especially "Characteristics," III, 180 ff.
[2] "Characteristics," III, 185.
[3] "Characteristics," III, 34.

And since the harmony of beauty is the model for the harmony of spiritual life, so harmonious development of the individual based upon esthetics becomes Shaftesbury's moral ideal.[4] We should, he claims, seek for the beautiful in everything, and by attaining beauty we shall also attain true wisdom; for whoever contemplates beauty must be good, and a real master of beauty knows that sensuality is ugly and that only in beauty are there reason and order. Such a man may be said to be the architect of his own life and happiness. Virtue and art are closely related. Life is the highest art, and the wise man is the artist of his own life by placing in himself the lasting foundation of order, peace and harmony.

And so nature is conceived by Shaftesbury as an artist every one of whose works is conditioned not by mere arbitrariness but by pure inner adaptation of means to end. The beauty which consists of uniformity amidst variety is found by Shaftesbury in the universe and is also required by him in a work of art. Only he is a true artist who, like the "sovereign artist" or the "universal plastic nature," creates a whole where everything stands in mutual connection and where, in conformance with nature, the individual parts are properly distributed and subordinated.[5]

The same demands are also made of the poet. The true poet, says Shaftesbury, is a "second maker," a "just Prometheus."[6] He also forms a coherent and proportioned whole "with due subjection and subordinacy of constituent parts.

[4] Schiller in his "Aesthetische Briefe," also advocates esthetic culture as a means of advancing morality.

[5] Goethe also attached great importance to the analogy between art and nature. Thus in his "Fragment über die Natur" (1781–2) he says of nature: "Sie ist die einzige Künstlerin. Jedes ihrer Werke hat ein eigenes Wesen, jede ihrer Erscheinungen den isoliertesten Begriff, und doch macht alles eins aus." Goethe's Werke in the *Jubiläums-Ausgabe,* XXXIX, 3.

[6] Goethe was strongly impressed by this notion. In the introduction to the 36th volume of the *Jubiläums-Ausgabe* of Goethe's works, O. Walzel calls attention to this similarity between Shaftesbury and Goethe (cf. p. xxxiii, ff.). Wilhelm Dilthey asserts that Goethe was never a strict *Spinozist* and that he always stood nearer to Shaftesbury than to Spinoza. Cf. "Aus der Zeit der Spinoza-studien Goethes" in *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie,* VII (1894), 333.

He notes the boundaries of the passions and knows their exact tones and measures; by which he justly represents them, makes the sublime of sentiments and actions and distinguishes the beautiful from the deformed, the amiable from the odious. The moral artist, who can thus imitate the Creator and is thus knowing in the inward form and structure of his fellow-creatures, will hardly be found unknowing in himself or at a loss in those numbers which make the harmony of a mind. For knavery is mere dissonance and disproportion. And tho' villains may have natural capacities of action, 'tis impossible that true judgment and ingenuity should reside where harmony and honesty have no being." In every writing relating to men and manners the author must understand the "beauty of sentiments, the sublime of characters and that natural grace which gives to every action its attractive charm. If he has no eye or ear for these interior numbers he will not be able to understand any better that exterior proportion and symmetry of composition which constitutes a legitimate piece. And thus the sense of inward numbers, the knowledge and practice of the social virtues, and the familiarity and favor of the *moral graces* are essential to the character of a deserving artist and a just favorite of the muses. Thus are the arts and virtues naturally friends: and thus the science of virtuosos and that of virtue itself becomes, in a manner, one and the same."[7]

Shaftesbury distinguishes between material and spiritual beauty, between the "beautified" and the "beautifying." "Body can no way be the cause of beauty to itself nor govern nor regulate itself. Must not that, therefore, which regulates and orders it, be the principle of beauty to it? And what must that be? Mind, I suppose; for what can it be else?"[8] Beauty as an expression of inner spiritual greatness is a dominant thought with Shaftesbury. He distinguishes three orders of beauty: First, dead forms having neither action nor intelligence, such as are formed by man or nature; secondly, forms that have action and intelligence and may be called forming forms, such as love and honesty and the like; thirdly, the order

[7] "Characteristics," I, 207–8, 336–8.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, 404–5.

of beauty which fashions minds and contains all the beauties fashioned by these minds. This third order is the original fountain of all beauty, the divine beauty.

Some of the doctrines just described were also held by Socrates as represented by Xenophon, Plato, Plotinus, the famous expounder of Neo-Platonism, and Bruno. Socrates considers all manifestations of virtue as good and beautiful[9] and emphasizes the superiority of spiritual to physical beauty.[10] Plato identifies the good with the beautiful and distinguishes three orders of beauty, physical, intellectual and spiritual.[11] In Plotinus we have the following parallels to Shaftesbury's philosophy: the relation of inward to outward beauty;[12] the beauty of virtue and the enthusiasm with which this beauty inspires one;[13] finally, the well-known doctrine of the three orders of beauty.[14] The connection between morality and the harmony manifested in the universe,[15] the superiority of spiritual beauty[16] and the distinguishing of three orders of beauty[17] are also found in Bruno. The harmony of beauty and the harmony of morality are brought into close connection also by Schiller. Schiller's ideal of the "schöne Seele," his esthetic view of life, his notion of the moral grace of the harmonious man,—all these are doctrines which unite Schiller with Shaftes-

[9] "Xenophons Erinnerungen an Socrates," German translation by C. E. Finkh (in a series entitled "Griechische Prosaiker in neuen Übersetzungen," Stuttgart, 1827), I, 547–8.

[10] "Xenophons Gastmahl," Wieland's translation in the *Attisches Museum*, IV1, 136, 137, 141.

[11] Plato's "Banquet," Vol. III of the works of Plato (English translation by George Burgess, London, 1859), pp. 518, 530–1, 537–8, 553. See also Robert Zimmermann: "Geschichte der Aesthetik als philosophische Wissenschaft," Wien, 1858; I, 5, 30, 82–4.

[12] "Select works of Plotinus," English translation by Thomas Taylor, 1909, pp. 76–7 (ninth book of the 2d Ennead).

[13] "Les Ennéades de Plotin," French translation by M. N. Bouillet, Paris, 1857–61 (in 3 volumes). See Vol. I, the 6th book of the 1st Ennead, pp. 104 ff.

[14] Bouillet, III, 119 ff. (8th book of the 5th Ennead) and Taylor, pp. 183–4.

[15] Bruno's "Heroic Enthusiasts" (1585), English translation by L. Williams (in 2 parts: Part I, London, 1887; Part II, London, 1889). See Introduction, pp. 20, 22 and Part I, 163.

[16] *Ibid.*, Part I, 71–2, 75–6.

[17] *Ibid.*, Part II, 7–8, Part I, 134.

bury, while at the same time they part the ways of Schiller and Kant.

2. *Moral Sense*

After discussing the import and power of beauty the next question is, whence the notion of beauty comes. According to Shaftesbury it is grounded in our nature and constitutes a very essential part thereof, for without this "imagination" or "conceit" the world would be but a "dull circumstance" and life a "sorry pass-time." "The gallant sentiments, the elegant fancys, the belle-passions, which have this beauty in view, would be set aside, and leave us probably no other employment than that of satisfying our coarsest appetites at the cheapest rate."[18]

We have an innate sense of beauty, which makes us appreciate a beautiful form the moment we see it, and which makes even the child prefer the symmetrical round ball to the irregular figure. Our inward eye distinguishes between the fair and unfair, between the lovely and detestable. "Nothing is more strongly imprinted on our minds or more closely interwoven with our souls than the sense of order and proportion. What a difference there is between harmony and discord! Between an organized body and that which is ungoverned and accidental!"[19]

Inasmuch, however, as the good and beautiful are one and the same, so the faculty that judges of beauty is at the same time the faculty of moral approbation.[20] Shaftesbury makes no distinction between an esthetic sense and a moral sense.[21]

[18] "Characteristics," III, 31.

[19] *Ibid.*, II, 284.

[20] In his "Moralische Vorlesungen" Gellert professes belief in a moral sense. Our heart, he says, discloses to us the disgraceful and the praiseworthy, for "wir haben in unserer Natur nicht nur das Licht der Vernunft, das uns nötigt ein göttliches Gesetz der Tugend zu erkennen, sondern wir besitzen in unsrem Herzen auch ein Vermögen, durch welches wir empfinden können, ob etwas edel oder unedel ist, erlaubt oder strafbar." Gellert's Sämmtliche Schriften (1867), VI, 33.

[21] Shaftesbury's "moral sense" is severely atacked by Berkeley in his "Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher in 7 Dialogues" (the first American edition 1803, from the 4th London edition). Alciphron represents Shaftes-

"Is there a natural beauty in figures? and is there not as natural a one in actions? No sooner the eye opens upon figures, the ear to sound, than straight the beautiful results, and grace and harmony are known and acknowledged. No sooner are actions viewed, no sooner the human affections and passions discerned, than straight an inward eye distinguishes and sees the fair and shapely, the amiable and admirable apart from the deformed, the foul or the despicable."[22] Sanction of custom and religion cannot alter the immutable and independent nature of worth and virtue. A man "avoids being nasty even when nobody is present."[23] He is honest because his nature abhors dishonesty, because he has a proper sense of what is becoming him as a human being. The force of nature can by no means be denied. Every one is a virtuoso in a higher or lower degree. Every one pursues a grace and courts a Venus of some kind or other. The *Venustum,* the *Honestum* and the *Decorum* of things will force its way.

This innate moral and esthetic faculty is also described by Shaftesbury as a "taste" or "relish." Most of our pleasures in life could not be relished, he says, if it were not for this "taste." Without it we should be unable to admire a poem, a picture, a charming shape. Without it love would be the lowest thing in nature. If brutality, he adds, is a taste, so is humanity a taste, and who would not choose the amiable in preference to the odious?

3. *Man is a Social Creature. Virtue is Natural and is the Highest Good*

In close connection with his "moral sense" Shaftesbury develops the doctrine that man is by nature virtuous,[24] that he

bury's view and Berkeley makes him remark again and again that man must not stop to examine or to inspect things, that he has a moral sense, a *je ne sais quoi,* something not to be inquired into. Euphranor, one of the speakers, then condemns the ideas of moral sense and moral beauty as "mere bubble and pretense." Cf. 3d dialogue, pp. 124, 138.

22 "Characteristics," II, 414.

23 *Ibid.,* I, 124.

24 Also to Goethe morality is "Angeschaffene und angeborene schöne Natur," Boucke: "Goethe's Weltanschaung auf historischer Grundlage," Stuttgart, 1907. See p. 417.

is a social creature joined with society neither by force nor by self-interest, but by pure natural affection. This part of Shaftesbury's philosophy may fairly be considered as a protest against Hobbes' views of society and government.[25]

Hobbes' philosophy of society is rooted in thorough-going self-interest. Religion, sociability and virtue are deduced by him from the baser side of human nature. Religion he bases upon ignorance, fear and superstition. He claims virtue to be the effect of mere self-interest and regards fear as the chief passion inducing men to observe the laws. A strong organized power is according to him the chief means of holding society in peace. The state of nature, he says, is a state of constant warfare of everybody against everybody else, a state in which the notions of right and wrong, justice and injustice, have no place whatever.[26]

How different are Shaftesbury's views on human society! "There are certain moral species so striking and of such force over our natures that when they present themselves they bear down all contrary opinion and passion. Of these virtue is the chief since it is the most naturally and strongly affecting."[27] Shaftesbury then identifies morality with genuine nature. "If eating and drinking be natural, herding is so too. If any appetite or sense be natural the *sense of fellowship* is the same."[28] Every creature has a constant relation to his species. Parental kindness, care for posterity, love of company,—all these are just as natural as it is for the lungs to breathe or for the stomach to digest. Man, therefore, is by nature sociable[29] and

[25] Hobbes (1588–1679) began in 1642 the publication of his philosophical rudiments concerning government and society with a Latin treatise on the citizen. In 1650 he published a treatise on human nature and on the body politic. In 1651 he summed up his teachings in the "Leviathan."

[26] "Leviathan" (3d edition, 1887), London, Glasgow and New York, No. 21 in Morley's *Universal Library*, pp. 58, 78, 75, 65, 137, 138, 99, 124, 72, 64–6.

[27] "Characteristics," III, 33.

[28] *Ibid.*, I, 110.

[29] That man is a social animal, that he derives more convenience than injury from social life, that he cannot lead a solitary life—all this is also upheld by Spinoza. See Ethics, Part IV, Prop. XXXV, Schol. And yet, strange to say, Spinoza's doctrine of the state of nature is similar to the one advanced by Hobbes. Spinoza also argues that in the state of nature

he was not forced into a social state against his will. Deprived of his natural affection and separated from his fellow-men he cannot properly be called man. The preservation and raising of the child establishes a strong union between husband and wife. Man cannot live in such fellowship with his partner and offspring without the art of storing and building and other kinds of economy. If a whole household is thus naturally developed the next natural step is the development of the household into a tribe and then into a nation; thus "out of society and community man never did nor ever can subsist."[30]

It is quite natural to expect that Hobbes' views should meet nothing but resentment on the part of Shaftesbury. Several times he refers sarcastically to Hobbes,[31] and certain passages in the "Characteristics" are directed specifically against him. It is ridiculous, says Shaftesbury, to think that man is obliged to act honestly only while he is under a formal government. Our modern philosophers, he continues, claim that society was founded on a compact and that every man promised then to surrender his private right. Yes, but this very promise was made in the state of nature, and that which could make a promise obligatory in the state of nature must make all other acts of humanity as much our real duty and natural part. Faith, justice, honesty must have been as early as the state of nature, or they could never have been at all. He who was free to any villainy before his contract will make as free with his contract when he thinks fit. The *natural knave* has the same reason to be a *civil one*. There can be no human state which is not social, "for sooner may you divest the creature of any other feeling or affection than that toward society and his likeness." Which state shall we call nature's own? Man in his development has gone through many changes and each change was as natural as the other. Hence, many different states of nature must be reckoned "or if one,

every man thinks only of his own advantage, that in the state of nature there is nothing that corresponds to justice or injustice. This doctrine is developed fully in the "Tractatus Politicus" and is treated briefly in the "Ethics," Part IV, Prop. XXXVII, Schol. II.

30 "Characteristics," II, 317–19.

31 "Characteristics," I, 88–9, 119; II, 319–20.

it can only be that in which nature was perfect and her growth complete. Here where she rested and attained her end, here must be her state or nowhere. Could she then maintain and propagate the species, such as it now is, without fellowship or community?"[32]

In closest connection with Shaftesbury's sociableness of man and the naturalness of virtue, we find the doctrine that virtue is the highest good,[33] that to be wicked is to be miserable, that an establishment of right affection and integrity is an advancement of one's own interest.[34] To Shaftesbury individual interest is inseparable from common welfare, and the discharge of public duties identical with the advancement of personal benefit. There are (1) "natural affections" leading to the public good, (2) "self-affections," which concern only the private individual and (3) "unnatural affections," tending neither to public nor private good. A person lacking the natural affections cannot be happy, for if his mind is turned away from love and kindness he is filled with aversion, ill-humor and fear. The greatest misery is often caused by ill-temper; vicious acts make the person a real sufferer. "Through certain humors or passions and from temper merely a man may be completely miserable, let his outward circumstances be ever so fortunate."[35]

The pleasures of the mind are superior to the pleasures of the body. Mental enjoyments are either the very natural affections themselves in their immediate operation, or they proceed from these natural affections as their direct effects. In the first place, we conceive great pleasure when our mind is under an affection of love, pity or anything else of a social

[32] *Ibid.*, I, 109; II, 312, 313, 316.

[33] The same doctrine is also emphasized by Spinoza. See "Ethics," Part II, Prop. XLIX, Schol.; Part IV, Prop. XXIV and LXIII; Part V, Prop. XIX and XLII.

[34] Socrates also taught that it is better to suffer injustice than to inflict it, that sin is a mistake, that happiness is the necessary consequence of virtue. (Cf. Windelband's "Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie," 4th edition, 1907, pp. 64–6.) Plato expresses a similar thought in his "Banquet." The good, he says is produced by justice and temperance and procures for us every kind of happiness. Cf. Plato's works, English translation by Burgess, London, 1859, III, 506.

[35] "Characteristics," II, 84.

character. Secondly, we have a natural feeling of joy when we see or hear of the happiness of others. The consciousness of merited esteem is another great enjoyment which proceeds from the natural affections. Even the most selfish person receives the greatest satisfaction from admiration and esteem which he feels to have been honestly deserved. And so "out of participation in the pleasures of others and belief of meriting well from others arise more than nine tenths of whatever is enjoyed in life."[36]

Nature demands of us the exercise of our faculties. Without action the body is weakened, without its natural exercise the mind is diseased. Men living in luxury and other indulgences of sense are made to pay for such a life; their failure to apply themselves to any occupation, either common labor, or science, or public affairs, is directly followed by a settled idleness, by an inactivity which produces total disturbance and irregularity in their systems. Nothing else is as necessary as exercise, and no other exercise is as essential as that of natural or social affection. A creature which is so dependent upon society must be very unfortunate when it loses that social feeling, which "is implanted in our natures, interwoven with our other passions and essential to that regular motion and course of our affections on which our happiness and self-enjoyment so immediately depend."[37]

All this applies in a negative way to what Shaftesbury calls "self-affections" and "unnatural affections." Thus, excessive love of life leads to cowardice, and cowardice leads to excessive fear, which oppresses the individual even when no dangers threaten. The pursuit of luxury becomes in the course of time an unnatural appetite, which increases the impatience of abstainment and lessens the pleasure of indulgence. An immoderate passion for praise renders a person incapable of sustaining the slightest disappointment. Excessive love of rest and indolence results immediately in ill humor and languor, which destroy all enjoyments. Anger and resentment, while necessary in a moderate degree for self-defense, become injurious

[36] *Ibid.*, II, 109.
[37] *Ibid.*, II, 139.

when carried to an extreme. They fill the mind with a desire for revenge, which in the course of time becomes a sort of disease.

Equally injurious are the "unnatural affections," such as taking pleasure in the calamity of others, a gay delight in injuring others, malice, envy, treachery, ingratitude, a general hatred of mankind. All these are entirely groundless passions. Agitated by such passions, man knows neither rest nor comfort, encounters hatred everywhere, finds horror wherever he goes. Such a mind is a real desert. If banishment from one's country is so terrible a thing, "what must it be to feel this inward banishment, this real estrangement from human commerce; and to be after this manner in a desert even when in the midst of society? What must it be to live in this disagreement with everything, this opposition to the order and government of the Universe?"[38]

Shaftesbury warns nevertheless against excessive "natural affection," and emphasizes the necessity of a moderate degree of "self-affection."[39] The former, when excessive, and the latter, when too weak, are both injurious. Whenever a "natural affection" is strong enough to make a person neglect other equally important affections, it defeats its own end. Religion, when it becomes such an excessively dominating passion, prevents a man from discharging his earthly duties; in such a case religion is a vicious affection. An excessive love for the child may destroy the mother and, consequently, the child. A person must not be too self-forgetful. By failing to preserve himself, man injures society, just as an eye, when failing to close itself against an imminent danger, injures the entire body. Self-preservation becomes in this respect self-love after the truest manner. "'Tis the height of wisdom to be rightly selfish, and to value life, as far as life is good, belongs as much to courage as to discretion."[40]

[38] *Ibid.*, II, 171.

[39] So Spinoza emphasizes the necessity of self-preservation. "Ethics," Part IV, Prop. XXI and XXII.

[40] "Characteristics," I, 121.

4. *Deism. Virtue and Religion. Culture as a Means of Developing Character. Philosophy as the Problem of Daily Life*

Although condemned by contemporaries and successors as an unbeliever, Shaftesbury was nevertheless filled with a profound religious feeling. The question now comes up as to his relation to the movement of so-called deism. There is a great variety of opinion on this question. Thus, Alfred Biese, in his "Deutsche Literaturgeschichte,"[41] considers Shaftesbury only as the leading propagator of the doctrines of deism. Hermann Hettner, on the other hand, considers A. Collins, W. Lyons and J. Toland as the leading deists and discusses Shaftesbury under a different head.[42] Diderot strongly objects to classing Shaftesbury with the Asgils, Tindals, and Tolands, to whom he refers as "mauvais protestants et misérables écrivains."[43] T. Fowler calls Shaftesbury "a deist of the right, who was fully as much occupied in presenting the positive as the negative parts of his doctrine, the latter being rather insinuated than openly avowed."[44] A. Wolfstieg, in his article "Englischer und französischer Deismus und deutsche Aufklärung," examines the English movement chiefly from its negative side and characterizes it as consisting of "shallow rationalism," "short sighted naturalism" and "gross free-thinking." He considers Shaftesbury as a prophet of the movement, as the one who directed the movement into the right channel.[45] We may consider Shaftesbury as a deist, if we accept G. V. Lechler's definition of deism as "an elevation, by means of free investigation, of natural religion to the standard of positive religion."[46] Certain it is that Shaftesbury represented the very best side of the movement, which had good and bad elements; for, while

41 München, 1907, I, 432.

42 "Geschichte der englischen Literatur" (5th edition, Braunschweig, 1894), Book II, Chapter 3.

43 *Discours préliminaire* to his translation of Shaftesbury's "Inquiry." Oeuvres Complètes (by J. Assézat), I, 15.

44 "Shaftesbury and Hutcheson," New York, 1883, p. 162.

45 *Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft,* XVII, 141 ff.

46 "Geschichte des englischen Deismus," Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1841, p. 460.

he was strongly opposed to theological subtleties, he never declared open war against religion.

Believing as he did that virtue has its own peculiar force, Shaftesbury also maintained that man "is not only born to virtue, friendship and honesty, but also to religion, piety, adoration and a generous surrender of his mind to whatever happens from that supreme cause, which he acknowledges entirely just and perfect."[47] The conception of God, he says, as the best model of excellence leads to a stronger affection for virtue; belief in the constant guidance and omnipresence of God increases the shame of a wrong act and enhances the glory of a good act. The hope for future reward and fear of future punishment have their advantages. By starting out to practice virtue for the sake of reward one may finally come to the point of practicing virtue for its own sake. We cannot have a powerful feeling of virtue, unless we are aware of the presence of goodness and beauty in the world; if, like the atheist, we consider the universe a pattern of disorder, we cannot believe virtue to be naturally good and advantageous. "And thus the perfection and height of virtue must be owing to the belief of a God."[48]

But if virtue is strengthened by religion it is by no means the product of religion. Virtue, Shaftesbury asserts, is independent of and prior to religion. Our natural sense of right and wrong, which we have a long time before acquiring a religious belief, cannot be affected either by theism, or atheism, or polytheism, or demonism.[49] Any one doing good out of the hope for reward or fear of punishment is not virtuous, but merely goes through a servile obedience. Theologians have often injured the cause of religion by making future reward

[47] "Characteristics," III, 224.

[48] *Ibid.*, II, 76. Spinoza expresses a similar thought: True belief in God increases the inclination to virtue, etc. See "Ethics," Part IV, XXVIII.

[49] Shaftesbury defines these four terms as follows: To believe that everything is governed for the best by a good and permanent mind, is to be a theist. To believe that everything is governed by chance and not by design, is to be an atheist. To believe in several superior minds is to be a polytheist. To believe that the governing mind or minds are not necessarily good but can also act from mere fancy, is to be a demonist. "Characteristics," II, 11.

and punishment an essential element thereof. Before arriving at the conception of supreme goodness, which is in God, a clear idea must first be obtained concerning goodness itself; before coming to the idea of the reward of virtue we must first have a clear notion of the merit of virtue. "We begin surely at the wrong end when we would prove merit by favor and order by a deity."[50] First of all it must be shown that "virtue is really something in itself and in the nature of things: not arbitrary nor constituted from without, or dependent on custom, fancy or will, not even on the supreme will itself, which can no way govern it: but being necessarily good, is governed by it and is ever uniform with it."[51] Man should not be referred all the time to the hereafter. Belief in a future state must come as a result of satisfaction with the present state. It is in such a process that men must be won to the belief in God and hereafter. "Being thus far become proselytes, they might be prepared for that divine love which our religion would teach them, when once they should embrace its precepts and form themselves to its sacred character."[52]

There is certainly nothing in all this that savors of atheism.[53] Nevertheless, Shaftesbury's refusal to base religion upon the idea of future rewards and punishments[54] has been misinterpreted by his opponents as a denial of the hereafter.[55] His deduction of the belief in God from the strength of virtue and the harmony of the universe has been taken as an attack on Christianity.[56] Among the divines of the 18th century there

50 *Ibid.*, II, 267.

51 *Ibid.*, II, 267.

52 *Ibid.*, II, 279.

53 Herder defends Shaftesbury against the accusations of atheism. See letter to Merck, Sept. 12, 1770. "Herders Lebensbild," III[1], 110–11.

54 Some of the leading passages in which Shaftesbury speaks of future rewards and punishments are: I, 97, 127; II, 55, 57, 60, 63–66, 120, 175–76, 272, 279.

55 John Leland defends the doctrine of future reward and punishment and claims that Shaftesbury's ideas on the subject tend to have a dangerous influence. See Leland's "View of the principal Deistical Writers" (in several letters to a friend), 3d edition, London, 1757, Letter V, 49–52, 54–5; VI, 66–70.

56 In his "Dedication to the free-thinkers" Warburton attacks Shaftesbury as a free-thinker and speaks of his "hatred of Christianity." Mande-

was a tendency, caused probably by fear of deism, to consider as irreligious any moral system which appealed to other sanctions than those of the opinions of society or future rewards and punishments. W. Paley even defines virtue as "the doing of good to mankind, in obedience to the will of God, and for the sake of everlasting happiness."[57] Likewise Berkeley emphasizes the necessity of the belief in future rewards and punishments on the basis that the mere beauty of virtue is insufficient to induce ordinary men to practice virtue.[58]

In spite of the fact that man is by nature social and virtuous, although virtue has its own peculiar source and is independent even of religion, nevertheless Shaftesbury emphasizes again and again the necessity of culture and learning as a means of advancing the cause of morality. It cannot be denied, he says, that the perfection of grace and comeliness in action can be found mainly among people of a liberal education. Art, science, and learning in general should have the development of character as their chief aim. Our studies and exercises are useless unless their object is our duty to mankind or obedience to our Creator.[59]

This and nothing else is Shaftesbury's criterion of good learning.[60] This explains why his philosophical activity was confined to ethics, esthetics and religion, and why he had no taste for metaphysics, logic or even for psychology, except

ville also attacks Shaftesbury as an enemy of Christianity. "Shaftesbury," we are told, "attacked the bible itself, and by ridiculing many passages of Holy Writ he seems to have endeavored to sap the foundation of all revealed religion with design of establishing Heathen virtue on the ruins of Christianity." In the 5th edition (1729) of the "Fable of the Bees," II, 6th dialogue between Horatio and Cleomenes, p. 432.

[57] "Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy," I, 43.

[58] In his "Alciphron" Berkeley severely attacks Shaftesbury as an unbeliever. He also declares that Shaftesbury considered Providence, immortality of the soul and future rewards and punishments as fraudulent impositions. 3d dialogue, p. 120 ff., 140 ff. In all these statements, however, Shaftesbury is grossly misrepresented by Berkeley.

[59] "Letters to a young man at the University," Letter I.

[60] Shaftesbury's influence appears in Gellert's lecture "von dem Einflusze der schönen Wissenschaften auf das Herz und die Sitten," V, 63 ff., in Sämmtliche Schriften, 1867, and in Herder's essay "Über den Einflusz der schönen in die höheren Wissenschaften," Suphan edition, IX, 289 ff. Both argue that the object of learning is the development of character.

in so far as it affords a basis for ethics. He speaks with bitter contempt of metaphysics and advocates the study of it only for the purpose of discovering that no wisdom is to be learned from it. The metaphysicians he considers as "moon-blind wits who may be said to renounce daylight and extinguish the bright visible outward world by allowing us to know nothing beside what we can prove by strict and formal demonstration."[61] Philosophy is to him a problem of daily life and is defined by him as the "study of inward numbers and proportions," exhibiting in life the beauty of virtue and "symmetry" of morals.[62] Philosophy is "the study of happiness"; hence, every man philosophizes in some manner or other. "Every deliberation concerning our interest, every correction of our taste," every choice of the good and the proper,—all this belongs to the province of philosophy. To philosophize is but to elevate good breeding or manners of life. "The sum of philosophy is to learn what is just in society and beautiful in nature. The taste of beauty and the relish of what is decent, just and amiable perfects the character of the gentleman and the philosopher, and the study of such a taste or relish will be ever the great employment and concern of him who covets as well to be wise and good as agreeable and polite."[63] The pretender to philosophy who cannot determine this affair "remains in respect to philosophy what a clown or coxcomb is in respect to breeding and behaviour."[64]

And so Shaftesbury laments the fact that nowadays philosophy is not active in the world. In ancient times, he says, reason and wit were studied not merely in schools but in the world. Philosophy was then a subject of discussion in public affairs as well as in private conversations. Nowadays, however, philosophy has been confined to places of learning, and only empirics and pedantic sophists are her pupils. Mere scholastics are concerned with moral inquiries, and it is con-

61 "Characteristics," III, 210–11.

62 *Ibid.*, III, 184.

63 *Ibid.*, II, 438 and III, 161–2.

64 *Ibid.*, III, 162. Herder was very much impressed by Shaftesbury in his capacity as a reconciler of philosophy with humanity. See "Herders Lebensbild," I3, 211.

sidered improper to bring such discussion into ordinary conversations. Shaftesbury speaks contemptuously of pedantry[65] and laments the failure of university learning to meet the demands of real culture. Our modern education, he says, is far from being a liberal education, because it does not "unite the scholar-part with that of the real gentleman and man of breeding." Exercises necessary for the development of a liberal character are neglected, and letters are "confined to the commerce and mean fellowship of bearded boys."[66] Consequently "to be a virtuoso is a higher step towards the becoming of a man of virtue and good sense than the being what in this age we call a scholar."[67]

5. *Eudemonism. Virtuoso*

Shaftesbury always set up the intrinsic worth of virtue as the only reason for embracing it, its natural grace and invitedness as the only proper cause for practicing it. A virtuous act should be the result not of a conquest of an evil passion but rather of the absence of that passion. A man overcoming temptations and evil propensities is undoubtedly virtuous; his virtue, however, is all the greater if he is entirely free from these propensities. A man may subdue here and there his evil desires, but the presence of an appetite for evil will certainly influence his conduct. "A good creature is such a one as by the natural temper or bent of his affections is carried primarily and immediately to good and against ill."[68] The height of morality is to be carried to virtue as to something sweet and pleasant, to conceive of virtue as the greatest happiness, to constitute its practice not as a matter of stern duty or self-denial, but as a real pleasure.

[65] Bruno also attacks pedants and ascetics, points out the absurdity of their systems and speaks sarcastically of their vain and pretentious aspirations. "Heroic Enthusiasts," Part II, p. 58.

[66] In the 5th dialogue of his "Alciphron" Berkeley resents Shaftesbury's attitude to university learning. He exaggerates Shaftesbury's view by letting Alciphron-Shaftesbury condemn the universities as seats of corruption and prejudice. He also mentions, through the mouth of Crito, that Shaftesbury considered the "learned professors" as bearded boys. See pp. *222* and *227*.

[67] "Characteristics," I, 333.

[68] *Ibid.*, II, *26*.

This doctrine was attacked by Mandeville and Schleiermacher. The former characterizes it as a doctrine opening the way to hypocrisy,[69] the latter refers to it as a "Lustphilosophie."[70] The most powerful and most systematic protest against Shaftesburian eudemonism is found in Kant's categorical imperative, which makes morality a matter of stern duty and sets up self-denial as the essence of virtue.[71] Schiller, although a disciple of Kant, recognizes the rigorism of the categorical imperative.[72] The practice of virtue out of pure inclination becomes Schiller's moral ideal, and under Shaftesbury's influence he develops some of the leading doctrines of his philosophical essays.[73] Schiller finally arrives at his ideal of the completely developed and esthetically-moral man, the "schöne Seele," which he defines as follows: "In einer schönen Seele ist es also, wo Sinnlichkeit und Vernunft, Pflicht und Neigung harmonieren, und Grazie ist ihr Ausdruck in der Erscheinung."[74] This "schöne Seele" establishes a close alliance between Schiller and Shaftesbury, for the former's ideal corresponds in general to the latter's "virtuoso."

Shaftesbury's virtuoso-ideal may fairly be considered the culmination of his moral-esthetic philosophy. In Miscellany III, Chap. I, we have the following definition of the virtuosi. "The virtuosi are the real fine gentlemen, the lovers of art and

69 Mandeville's: "Search into the nature of society," in the 5th edition of the "Fable of the Bees," I, 380.

70 "So erscheint die anglicanische Schule des Shaftesbury, wieviel auch dort immer von der Tugend die Rede ist, dennoch als gänzlich der Lust ergeben." See "Grundlinien einer Kritik der bisherigen Sittenlehre," in the edition of his works, Berlin, 1846, XXIV, 41.

71 Kant's *Categorical Imperative* is discussed briefly in "Kritik der reinen Vernunft" (edition of Kehrbach), pp. 613–15, "Kritik der Urteilskraft" (Kehrbach ed.), 338, 346. An elaborate treatment of the doctrine is found in "Kritik der praktischen Vernunft" (4th edition, Riga, 1797). See especially pp. 36–8, 40–5, 49–57, 64–7, 105, 112, 128, 130, 135, 142–8, 150–1, 166–7.

72 Letter to Goethe, Aug. 17, 1795: "Schillers Briefe," edited by F. Jonas, IV, 236.

73 The essays, where Shaftesbury is especially in evidence, are: "Über den moralischen Nutzen aesthetischer Sitten," "Über Anmut und Würde," "Über das Erhabene," "Briefe über die aesthetische Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts."

74 "Über Anmut und Würde," Goedeke edition, X, 104.

ingenuity; such as have seen the world and informed themselves of the manners and customs of the several nations of Europe, searched into their antiquities and records; considered their police, laws and constitutions; observed the situation, strength and ornaments of their cities, their principal arts, studies, architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and their taste in poetry, learning, language and conversation."[75] Shaftesbury's virtuoso, however, stands for a much broader concept than the one conveyed by this definition. The "virtuoso" is not merely the lover of art and culture but the one who through his culture and love of art has become a life-artist. If, Shaftesbury asks, we strive to attain proficiency in other arts, why should we not work for the same end in the highest of arts, namely, life? The "virtuoso" lives out to the very fullest extent his whole personality, develops all his faculties, practices virtue out of pure natural instinct. He is the harmonious and esthetically-developed man, the good and beautiful individual.

Shaftesbury's virtuososhiip corresponds in general to the Greek *kalokagathia* especially developed by Socrates;[76] to Bruno's "heroic enthusiasm," which consists of a passionate love for truth and of "a natural fervor excited by the love of the divine"[77] and to Goethe's ideal of the totality of moral and esthetic education.[78]

6. *Soliloquy. Wit and Humor. Enthusiasm. Raillery*

While Shaftesbury was a great advocate of social intercourse, he attached great importance to what he calls "soliloquy." By means of "soliloquy" or self-investigation, he says, we practice upon ourselves the art of advising and thinking. By virtue of "soliloquy" man becomes two distinct persons:

[75] "Characteristics," III, 156.

[76] To be discussed later in connection with Wieland's "Virtuoso."

[77] "Heroic Enthusiasts," Part I, 70 and 130.

[78] This similarity between Shaftesbury and Goethe is pointed out by O. Walzel in his introduction to Schiller's philosophical writings ("Säkular-Ausgabe" of Schiller's Works, Vol. XI), p. x, and by E. A. Boucke in his "Goethes Weltanschauung auf historischer Grundlage" (Stuttgart, 1907). See especially pp. 423, 427, 430.

he becomes a preceptor and pupil, teaching and learning at the same time. All great minds have used this practice; all great poets, philosophers and orators are frequenters of woods and river-banks, where they let their "fancies evaporate."[79] "It is the hardest thing in the world to be a good thinker without being a strong self-examiner and thorough paced dialogist in this solitary way."[80] According to the old doctrine each man had within himself a demon or guardian-spirit as a constant companion. This old demon-conception meant nothing else than this: "that we had each of us a patient in ourself, that we were properly our own subjects of practice, and that we then became true practitioners, when by virtue of an intimate *recess* we could discover a certain *duplicity* of soul and divide ourselves into *two parties*."[81] One of these two parties is the governor and inspector of our fancies and opinions, while the other has nothing else to do but to render obedience to this counselor and inspector. It must, however, be borne in mind that "soliloquy" or self-discourse "is wholly impracticable without a previous commerce with the world; and the larger the commerce is, the more practicable and improving the other is likely to prove."[82] It is for this reason that a mystic, or a recluse religionist, or a hermit, can never truly be by himself. None of these is capable of soliloquizing, because he is without social intercourse.

"Soliloquy"[83] attains the desired end because man has real reverence for himself. When he is in the company of his inspector, or guardian-spirit, when he appears before his close companion, he cannot endure to be a rascal. In company a man frequently uses a certain tone of pleasantry, and sometimes he even defends vice; but he never dares do this when he

79 "Characteristics," I, 161.

80 *Ibid.*, I, 168.

81 *Ibid.*, I, 169.

82 *Ibid.*, III, 155.

83 In his "Alciphron" Berkeley ridicules Shaftesbury's "soliloquy." "Shaftesbury," we are told, "hath found out that a man may argue with himself: and not only with himself but also with notions, sentiments, and vices, which, by a marvellous prosopopoeia, he converts into so many ladies; and so converted, he confutes and confounds them in a divine strain." 5th dialogue, pp. 225–6.

is by himself. The moment he begins to question himself, his better nature triumphs. He asks himself whether he is really honest or only a mere pretender; whether he is justified in promoting his own interest at the expense of others, provided he can do it with impunity. This question is answered by another question: "What reason has the greatest rogue in nature for not doing thus? Am I not then at the bottom, the same as he?" And then comes the conclusion: "If interest points me out this road, whither would humanity lead me? Quite contrary."[84]

And just as "soliloquy" is not inconsistent with social life so is "freedom of wit and humor" not only consistent with, but even essential to the cause of good government, religion and morality. Shaftesbury is essentially a cheerful philosopher, and in all phases of life he fights against the harsh, stern, gloomy and melancholy. The interference of government with religion, he says, has been detrimental to the cause of religion, and if government should meddle with science and philosophy they would become just as bad as our present theology. Also in government itself severity defeats its own end. The magistrate should have a gentler hand and instead of "incisions and amputations" he should use the "softest balms." He should sympathize with the people's passion and endeavor to cure it by cheerful means.

Good humor is the best foundation of piety and religion. Ill-humor is the cause of atheism, for it leads to ill thoughts of the Supreme Being. Of God we must think with good humor. There was a time when martyrdom was considered the highest manifestation of religion, but we have now come to the conclusion that the spirit of love and humanity is far above that of martyrdom, which makes religion a melancholy affair. Nowadays one would hardly be considered a good Christian, who when living among the Turks should disturb in any way their worship. A Protestant who would interrupt a Catholic service would now be considered a rank enthusiast or a fanatic. Treated in such a melancholy way, religion becomes a panic and a real tragedy. Because we have been taught religion in

[84] "Characteristics," I, 172–3.

a gloomy manner, we give our attention to it only when we are in adversity. In such a condition we cannot look calmly into ourselves, much less into a Being who is far above us. In such a melancholy mood we are likely to find nothing but anger and terror in God. Even the question of the existence of God should be a matter of free inquiry and familiar treatment. The acceptance of Providence on weak grounds is merely flattering God. The denial of reason and affectation of belief are the results of the stern and gloomy treatment of religion; such belief makes mere "Sycophants in religion," mere "parasites of devotion."

It is mere bigotry to suppose that important matters, such as religion and morality, cannot be treated with frankness and good humor. Recognizing the natural power of "wit and humor," the founders of religion have employed "wit and humor" as proper means of advancing true faith. For this reason the book of Psalms, Job, Proverbs, etc., contain many humorous images and much jocular wit. Some of the old heathen priests were melancholy and approached the divine service with mean grimaces and crouchings, but thereby they displayed their base thoughts of divinity. Even in those older times this kind of "sycophantic" service was despised and suspected as "knavish." Morals, grave as they are of their own nature, should be presented with an air of pleasantry. It is for that reason that the first morals were delivered to the world in parables, tales and fables; and the most consummate teachers of morals were "great tale-tellers and retainers to honest Aesop."

On the basis of this contrast between the melancholy and the cheerful, between the gloomy and good-humored, Shaftesbury distinguishes two kinds of enthusiasm, a false or melancholy and a true or good-humored enthusiasm. The passions they raise are much alike, for in a state of excitement the mind fixes itself upon any real object or mere spectre of divinity. But the former is the cause of all horror, religious persecution and superstition; the latter is at the basis of all the great and noble performances of heroes, statesmen, poets, orators, musicians and philosophers. The former is mere fanaticism, the

latter is real divine inspiration.[85] Virtue itself consists of this noble enthusiasm for everything great and beautiful.

Closely connected with his "freedom of wit and humor" is Shaftesbury's doctrine of the use of raillery as a test of truth. Just as Descartes recommends the test of doubt for the recognition of truth, so Shaftesbury urges the test of ridicule as a means of ascertaining the essentially earnest. Freedom of wit, he claims, must always be connected with freedom of raillery, which is the best remedy for all extravagances and "splenetic humors." Anything that can be shown only in a certain light is questionable; but "truth can bear all lights." The common opinion is that grave matters must be treated only in a solemn way; but we must first discover whether a thing is really grave. Very often gravity is nothing but imposture; very frequently modes, fashions and opinions, ridiculous as they are, are nevertheless kept up by gravity and solemnity. The only means of distinguishing true gravity from the false, the truly serious from the ridiculous, is to apply the test of ridicule and see whether the test will be borne. We are mere "cowards in reasoning" if we fear to submit ourselves to the test of ridicule. If we fear to apply this test to *any* thing, we have no security against the imposture of false gravity in *all* things.

It must, however, be borne in mind that raillery does not imply vulgar jest or mere buffoonery. There is, to be sure, a gross and offensive kind of raillery; but the difference between this and true raillery is as great as the difference "between hypocrisy and fair dealings, or between the most scurrilous buffoonery and the genteelest wit."[86] True raillery does not consist of mere mockery, of laughing at everything. "There is a great difference between seeking how to raise a laugh from everything and seeking in everything what justly may be laughed at. For nothing is ridiculous except what is deformed; nor is anything proof against raillery except what is handsome and just. And therefore 'tis the hardest thing in the world to deny fair honesty the use of this weapon, which

[85] Bruno also distinguishes two kinds of enthusiasm. Some, he says, display mere blindness and irrational impetuosity, others are divinely inspired. "Heroic Enthusiasts," Part I, p. 70.

[86] "Characteristics," I, 63.

can never bear an edge against herself, and bears against everything contrary."[87]

7. *Optimism*

Shaftesbury was above all an optimist and he persistently maintained that there is no positive sin or evil in the world. The inner kernel of our nature, he claims, is good. No man is entirely vicious; even the rascal refusing, out of a sense of honor, to betray his companions has some principles of virtue. "As it seems hard to pronounce of any man that he is absolutely an atheist, so it appears altogether as hard to pronounce of any man that he is absolutely corrupt and vicious."[88]

Nature never errs even when she seems to be perverse. "'Tis good which is predominant; and every corruptible and mortal nature by its mortality and corruption yields only to some better, and all in common to that best and highest nature, which is incorruptible and immortal."[89] Every creature is related to every other of its kind, it is a part of a species, the species a part of a larger system, every system a part of a whole universe. No creature can be considered wholly good or wholly ill except with reference to its relation to the entire system. Every individual imperfection disappears in the perfection of the universe; every individual discord vanishes in the harmony and order of the world.

That there is such harmony and order in the world any man with a clear vision can readily see. On examining every part and organ both in plants and animals and on clearly seeing the

[87] *Ibid.*, I, 128. Shaftesbury's opponents have utterly failed to take cognizance of his just-mentioned point of view. They misinterpreted and exaggerated his doctrine and attacked him as a mere scoffer and railleur. See, for instance, Berkeley's "Alciphron," 3d dialogue, pp. 145–6; Mandeville's "Dialogues between Horatio and Cleomenes," 5th edition of the "Fable of the Bees," II, 1st dialogue, p. 32; Leland's "View of the principal Deistical Writers," Letter V, pp. 59–64; Warburton's "Dedication to the Free-thinkers," pp. xii–xxiii. But we also have a defense of Shaftesbury's "raillery" and his general doctrine of the freedom of wit and humor. This defense comes from Herder, Shaftesbury's excellent interpreter and exponent, and is found in the "Adrastea": Suphan edition, XXIII, 143 ff., 153 ff.

[88] "Characteristics," II, 39.

[89] *Ibid.*, II, 216.

relation of the parts to the whole, one must also perceive uniformity in the whole universe. It would certainly be very strange that products of nature should have order and perfection, which nature herself lacks. The individual systems are all united into one system according to one consistent and uniform design. All things in the world are united: the branch with the tree; the tree with the earth, air and water; these elements are united with the various animals, by means of wings for the air, fins for the water, feet for the earth. The earth in its turn is united with the other planets and the sun. And thus a coherent and harmonious universal system must be acknowledged.[90]

The only objection that on the face of the matter may be raised against the recognition of such a harmonious universal system is man's apparently unfavorable condition as compared with the lower animals. Man is subject to more diseases and does not live as long as some of the wild animals. The latter are protected by nature against the injury of weather, are relieved of labor, are more vigorous in old age, more protected in infancy than man. But is this a defect? Is man any worse for it? It is owing to his physical weakness that man has to depend on society for help. Conjugal affection, love of parents, duty to magistrates, love of community and country are the results of this so-called defect. The excellence of man is different from that of the brute, and he must strive to attain manly qualities. He has been endowed with powers suitable enough for the exercise of his reason but inadequate for other purposes. It seems that by design man is hindered from aspiring to what is misbecoming his character. "Such is the admirable distribution of nature, her adapting and adjusting not only matter to shape and form but shape and form to the circumstance, place or element: all managed for the best with perfect frugality and just reserve, profuse to none but bounti-

[90] Plotinus was also filled with enthusiasm for the harmony of the universe. He must be exceedingly dull, says Plotinus, "who, on seeing all the beautiful objects in the sensible world, all this symmetry and great arrangement of things, is not from this view mentally agitated, and does not venerate them as admirable productions of still more admirable causes." Select works of Plotinus (T. Taylor, p. 74).

ful to all, never employing in one thing more than enough but with exact economy retrenching the superfluous and adding force to what is principal in every thing."[91]

There is a great resemblance between this optimism of Shaftesbury and that of Leibniz. The latter maintained that owing to the power and wisdom of God this is the best possible universe, that there is no absolute evil in the world, and that whatever evil exists is a concomitant of larger and greater good.[92] The optimistic systems, however, found respectively in Shaftesbury's "Moralists" and Leibniz' "Theodicée," were developed independently of each other. But Shaftesbury's "Moralists" or "Philosophical Rhapsody" preceded Leibniz' "Theodicée" by a whole year. This fact is very strongly emphasized by Lessing.[93] Leibniz himself expressed his admiration for Shaftesbury's philosophy, found in it many of his own doctrines; but above all he was impressed by the "Philosophical Rhapsody," in which he "found almost all his *Theodicée*."[94]

Spinoza was also an optimist of the type of Shaftesbury and Leibniz. He claims that sin and evil have no positive existence, that perfection is absolute and grounded in the very nature of God, hence, in the nature of all things, inasmuch as they proceed from God.[95]

91 "Characteristics," II, 306.

92 "Essais de Theodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme et l'origine du mal" (Nouvelle edition, par M. le Chevalier de Jacourt, Amsterdam, 1747). See especially: Part I, 79, 84 ff., 96, 105 ff., 131; Part II, 12 ff., 24 ff., 29, 51; Part III, 144, 152, 239.

93 Shaftesbury's "Rhapsody," says Lessing, was issued in 1709 and Leibniz' "Theodicée" appeared at the end of 1710. Then he adds: "Ein englischer Philosoph, welcher Dinge gedacht hat, die Leibniz erst ein ganzes Jahr nachher gedacht zu haben zeigt, sollte Dieser von dem Letzteren nicht ein wenig sein geplündert worden"? See "Pope ein Metaphysiker" in Lachmann-Muncker edition of Lessings Works, VI, 442.

94 Letter to T. Burnett, Aug. 23, 1713: "Die philosophischen Schriften von Leibniz," edited by C. J. Gerhardt, Berlin, 1877, III, 381; letter to Grimarest, June 4, 1712: "Leibnitii opera omnia," Dutens edition, Geneva, 1768, V, 67; letter to Coste, May 30, 1712: Gerhardt edition, III, 421. Leibniz' remarks on Shaftesbury's philosophy are found in the same volume, pp. 423–31.

95 Letter to Blyenbergh, Jan. 5, 1665, in "Chief Works of Spinoza" (translated by Elwes), II, 332; "Ethics," Part I, Propos. XXXIII and Schol. I and II.

8. *The Doctrine of a Supreme Being*

Shaftesbury's proof for the existence of the Supreme Being is known as the teleological proof. Since, he argues, this is a coherent and harmonious universe, there must be a designing mind. The existence of such a mind can be denied only on the supposition of disorder in the world. The tree, for instance, has all its parts interrelated and sympathizing, so to speak, with one another; all these parts serve to one purpose, namely, the preservation of the whole mechanism. This substance, which has the form of a tree, has a peculiar nature, a soul, by virtue of which it lives and flourishes. In man we also find various parts cooperating for a common end; and so man also has a peculiar "genius" or a soul, by virtue of which he is a man. How, then, can we fail to recognize a universal and sovereign genius in view of the existence of a human genius? Does each man think for himself, while the world has no such power? Is nature never the wiser for all the art and wisdom it breeds?

Man is related to the whole of nature, and this clearly shows that there is a uniting principle in nature. "If so, how are you then a self and nature not so? How have you something to understand and act for you, and nature who gave you this understanding nothing at all to understand for her and advise her? Has the world such ill-fortune in the main? Are there so many particular understandings and active principles everywhere? And is there nothing at last which thinks, acts and understands for all? Nothing which administers or looks after all?"[96] The more we are convinced of the existence of our own self, the more it follows that our own self is derived from a principal and original self. This "original self," this "designing principle," this "governing mind," or "sovereign beauty," or "universal genius," or "World-soul," is God.

Kant rejects the teleological proof and substitutes the ontological proof, which is a pure "Vernunftsbegriff." With Kant the existence of God and immortality are postulates of pure reason.[97] Descartes starts with the reality of thought, with

[96] "Characteristics," II, 357.

[97] "Kritik der reinen Vernunft" (Kehrbach ed.), pp. 468, 615; and "Kritik der praktischen Vernunft" (4th ed. 1797), pp. 219, 220, 224, 226.

his *cogito ergo sum,* as the foundation for the proof of God and the material world. He has a notion of two substances, thought and extension, radically different from and independent of each other.[98] Leibnitz opposes Descartes' dualism; he considers force as the essential factor in the world, thinks of it as divided into a great number of monads or living self-active forces in various degrees of development, and conceives of God as the original monad, of which all the others are productions.[99] And Spinoza conceives of God as the immanent cause of the world, as the only infinite and indivisible substance, of which all finite existences are modes or limitations.[100]

9. *Shaftesbury's School*

A discussion of Shaftesbury's philosophy would be incomplete without an account of the Shaftesburian School, the most prominent adherents of which were the Scotch moral philosophers, Reid, Ferguson and Hutcheson. They were all inspired by Shaftesbury and served as a medium for the spread of his philosophy. Like Shaftesbury, Reid considers man as an essentially social creature. The wise author of nature, he says, intended us to be social creatures; for this purpose he implanted in us the disposition to trust others and a proclivity to speak the truth. Truth is the natural issue of the mind, while lying does violence to our natures. "Speaking truth is like using our natural food, but lying is like taking physic, which is nauseous to the taste and which no man takes but for some end which he cannot otherwise attain."[101]

But that which above all links Reid with Shaftesbury is the former's emphasis of the "common sense," which he construes as the immutable judgment of the good, the expression of the

98 Descartes "Meditations" (translated by J. Veitch from Latin to English, Chicago, 1901), Medit. VI, p. 91; III, 61; IV, 64; VI, 93.

99 For Leibniz' monad-doctrine I consulted his: "La Monadologie," edited by Henri Lachelier, Paris, 1909.

100 See "Ethics," Definitions III, IV, V, VI; letter to Oldenburg (Elwes ed.) II, 277; "Ethics," Part I, Propositions V, XIII, XIV, XV, XVIII, XXV and Corollary, XVII and Corollaries I and II; Part V, Prop. XXIV; letter to Oldenburg (Elwes ed.), II, 301.

101 Thomas Reid: "An inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense," 6th edition, 1810, p. 420.

inner voice of reason. A fine taste, he claims, is implanted in our natures. Even the savage has in himself the seeds of logic, good breeding and virtue; these seeds, however, must be developed by culture. Philosophy has no other root than the principles of "common sense." The common concerns of life and the general conduct of men are governed by certain common principles, and the attempt on the part of some philosophers to reject these principles is as futile as the attempt of the giants to dethrone Jove. Hobbes, for instance, says Reid, endeavored to demonstrate that there is no difference between right and wrong. Such a philosophy, however, appears ridiculous even to those who cannot point out its fallacy. "Common sense and reason have both one author; that almighty author in all whose other works we observe a consistency, uniformity and beauty, which charm and delight the understanding: there must, therefore, be some order and consistency in the human faculties as well as in other parts of His workmanship."[102]

Ferguson also advocates Shaftesburian doctrines, i. e., that virtue is the advantage of the individual and the public, that man has a moral sense, that he is essentially a social creature. Beauty, he claims, is an indication of wisdom and goodness. On the other hand, folly and malice are deformities of the mind. "There is reason to believe that beauty when real may be resolved into excellence and that deformity may be resolved into defect."[103] Virtue is the best state of which an intelligent being is capable. Wisdom, goodness, temperance, fortitude constitute the excellence of human nature; while its deformity and misery consist of folly, malice, debauchery and cowardice.

It is improper to consider virtue as consisting of external performances enjoined under the sanction of rewards and punishments. If the virtuous are destined to be happy in the future, they are certainly happy in the present state through the practice of virtue; "and it were absurd to conceive that a person must not prefer the good which he may now enjoy but

[102] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

[103] Adam Ferguson: "Principles of Moral and Political Science," Edinburgh, 1792, II, 30.

for the sake of a good which he is to enjoy hereafter."[104] It is unfortunate to suppose that anything else can amuse us better than the performance of duty. "It is unhappy to conceive beneficence as an effect of self-denial or to conceive that we lay our fellow-creatures under great obligations, by the kindness we do them."[105] If I have done a kindness to my fellow-men, he says, it is also my benefit. Some people remind you of the service they rendered you; others, although not reminding you of it, keep it in their minds; still others do not seem to know what they have done. The latter are like the vine which produces its grapes and *has done,* when it has yielded its proper fruit.

Virtue, says Ferguson, is universally approved regardless of its outward utility. A person dying in the mere attempt to save a friend or to preserve his country is just as much an object of moral approbation as the most successful adventurer in either cause. The power by which man distinguishes between right and wrong is what we call the moral sense. As in the case of different animals nature has superadded to the other principles of sensitive life some peculiar faculty for seeing, smell or touch, as in the lynx's eye, the hound's nostril, or the spider's touch; so to the mind of man, in addition to his other powers, the Creator has given a faculty of judging concerning the merit or demerit of character. "Hunger and thirst or any other incitement to self-preservation is not more essential to the animal frame than the preference of what is perfect to what is imperfect is to the constitution of the mind."[106] Mr. Hobbes, Ferguson continues, denies the existence of any right prior to convention, but Hobbes' opinion is unjust to human nature. There is certainly a clear perception of right and wrong prior to convention. Man is formed for society, and he is happy only in so far as he has the qualifications of an associate and friend. "He is excellent in the degree in which he loves his fellow-creatures; he is defective in the degree in which he hates them or is indifferent to their welfare."[107]

104 *Ibid.*, p. 92.
105 *Ibid.*, p. 90.
106 *Ibid.*, p. 130.
107 *Ibid.*, p. 41.

But of the entire school Hutcheson is the one who stands in closest connection with Shaftesbury. He systematizes Shaftesbury's leading doctrines into a comprehensive system. According to H. Ritter,[108] Hutcheson has the same relation to Shaftesbury as Wolff to Leibniz. The analogy between beauty and virtue, the function of the moral sense, benevolence as an original part of our nature,—these are the fundamental points of resemblance between the two philosophers. Hutcheson's[109] main difference from Shaftesbury consists of his distinguishing between an esthetic and moral sense, while Shaftesbury includes the perception of beauty and morality under the same sense.

The superior faculty of perceiving beauty, says Hutcheson, may properly be termed a sense, because the perception of beauty[110] comes to us immediately without any former resolution on our part; and uniformity amidst variety is the most essential principle of beauty. Such a condition we find in nature, not a single part of which could have been produced by chance. The more complex the combinations of nature are, the more we must ascribe them to design.[111] The sense of beauty is universal. The followers of Mr. Locke, says Hutcheson, while considering the external senses natural and antecedent to custom and education, deny naturalness to the esthetic sense and make it depend upon prospect of advantage, custom or education. And yet, Hutcheson continues, the esthetic or

108 "Geschichte der Philosophie," Hamburg, XII (1855), 291.

109 Francis Hutcheson's chief work is: "Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue," 1720. The edition of Glasgow, 1772 (printed from the 4th edition of 1738), was consulted. The work was translated into German by J. H. Merck, Frankfurt, 1762.

110 Hutcheson distinguishes between original or absolute and comparative or relative beauty. By the former he means the beauty of the works of nature; by the latter he means the beauty of such objects as are imitations of other objects. "Inquiry," etc., pp. 13–14.

111 Hutcheson considers miracles as contrary to design, and his view on miracles is the same as Shaftesbury's: "However miracles may prove the superintendency of a voluntary agent, yet that mind must be weak and inadvertent which needs them to confirm the belief of a wise and good Deity; since the deviation from general laws must be a presumption of inconstancy and weakness, rather than of steady wisdom and power, and must weaken the best arguments we can have for the sagacity and power of the universal mind." *Ibid.*, p. 62.

internal sense is just as real and natural as any of the external or physical senses. "The internal sense is a passive power of receiving ideas of beauty from all objects in which there is uniformity amidst variety. Nor does there seem anything more difficult in the matter than that the mind should receive the idea of sweet when a sweet form enters the tongue or to have the idea of sound upon a quick vibration in the air."[112] The sense of beauty is antecedent to custom, education and example. None of these can be of any avail, unless we first have a natural faculty of perceiving beauty and harmony.

Nature, Hutcheson continues, has also given us a moral sense[113] and has endowed us with affections that are the springs of virtuous acts. The moral sense is free from all notions of personal advantage. If this were not so, we should have the same love for a fruitful field as for a generous friend in as far as both are of equal advantage to us; nor should we admire the virtuous act of a person of a distant land and of a former age, provided his influence does not reach us, any more than the mountains of Peru, when we are not interested in the Spanish trade. But "we have a distinct perception of beauty or excellence in the kind of affections of rational agents; whence we are determined to admire and love such characters and persons. Were there no moral sense or had we no other idea of actions but as advantageous or hurtful, I see no reason why we should be delighted with honor or subjected to the uneasiness of shame; or how it could ever happen that a man who is secure from punishment for any action should ever be uneasy at its being known to all the world."[114] The moral sense, he claims, is universal and antecedent to religion, custom and instruction.

Summary

We found the identification of the good with the beautiful as the starting point of Shaftesbury's philosophy. Striving after beauty, he claims, leads to virtue; in fact, beauty itself is

112 *Ibid.*, p. 72.

113 Gerhard Keussler considers the origin of the "Popularaesthetik" as consisting of Shaftesbury's and Hutcheson's "inner sense" and of Reid's "common sense." See "Die Grenzen der Aesthetik," Leipzig, 1902, p. 121.

114 Hutcheson's "Inquiry," etc., pp. 101, 205.

nothing else than an expression of inner spiritual harmony. Out of this Shaftesbury develops his "moral grace" and the three orders of beauty: material, spiritual, and divine. The notions of beauty and morality, he asserts, are grounded in human nature. Man has both an esthetic and a moral faculty. Man is essentially a social creature, and society is his natural state. Virtue is the advantage and vice the disadvantage of everybody; public welfare and private interest are inseparable. Virtue has its own peculiar source and, although it may be strengthened by religion, it is independent of the latter and prior to it. The notion of future rewards and punishments is not, as theologians claim, essential to the advancement of the cause of morality. The cause of morality, however, is advanced by culture, and the development of character is, according to Shaftesbury, the chief aim of all learning. He attacks pedants and scholastics, speaks contemptuously of metaphysics and condemns an education which fails to "unite the scholar part with that of the real gentleman and man of breeding." Philosophy is to him a problem of daily life; it consists of "elevating good breeding or manner of life." The height of morality consists of conceiving virtue as the greatest happiness and of making its practice not a matter of stern duty or self-denial but a real pleasure, which is in thorough accord with the natural propensities. The "virtuoso" is the esthetically developed individual, who through his broad culture becomes the artist of his life.

Shaftesbury advocates self-investigation or "soliloquy" as a means of becoming a good thinker and an honest man. But since he is an opponent of solitary life he emphasizes the impracticability of "soliloquy" without "commerce with the world." He is a cheerful philosopher, opposes the gloomy and melancholy in all phases of life and emphasizes the freedom of "wit and humor" as essential to the cause of good government, religion and morality. On the basis of the contrast between the gloomy and cheerful he distinguishes between a false and a true enthusiasm, between mere fanaticism and real divine inspiration. In connection with the freedom of "wit and humor" he develops the doctrine of the use of raillery as a test of truth.

"Truth can bear all lights." The application of the test of ridicule is the best means of distinguishing the truly serious from the ridiculous. But the application of raillery, we are told, does not imply vulgar jest or mere buffoonery. Shaftesbury is above all an optimist. He claims that there is no positive sin or evil in the world and is filled with enthusiasm for the order and beauty of the universe. Of God he conceives as the genius of nature or the world-soul.[115]

115 This exposition does not include Shaftesbury's more technical contributions to art-criticism as contained in the "Notion of the Tablature of the Judgment of Hercules" and in the "Letter concerning Design." The former to a certain extent influenced Lessing's "Laokoon." Hugo Blümner in his book on Lessing's "Laokoon" discusses briefly the relation between Lessing's work and Shaftesbury's "Judgment of Hercules." See Blümner: "Lessings Laokoon," introduction, p. 24 ff. G. Spicker in his "Philosophie des Grafen von Shaftesbury" (Freiburg, 1872) analyzes Shaftesbury's "Judgment of Hercules" and quotes corresponding passages from Lessing's "Laokoon." See pp. 207 ff.

CHAPTER III

Shaftesbury's Moral-Esthetic Philosophy in Wieland

1. *The Good and the Beautiful. Spiritual Beauty and Moral Charm*

If we were to look for one comprehensive term which should convey the concept for which Shaftesbury's moral-esthetic philosophy stands we could hardly find a more fitting term than Shaftesbury's "Moral Grace" or "Moral Venus." That Wieland's moral-esthetic philosophy came from Shaftesbury appears from his frequent allusions, always commendatory, to the Shaftesburian "Moral Grace," "Moral Graces" or "Moral Venus." In the aforementioned document directed against Uz in January, 1758, he declares that a poet is not expected to be morose and gloomy;[1] that virtue lies between the two extremes, frivolity and gloom; that Uz should be familiar with "the moral Venus and the moral Graces about which Shaftesbury speaks"; that "had he known these *Graces* he would have been an amiable author."[2] His appeal to Shaftesbury's "Moral Venus" in "Cyrus" and the professed use of the same "Venus" in the character of Cyrus have already been discussed.[3]

In a letter to F. J. Riedel, Oct. 26, 1768, he praises Jacobi's poems "Vestale" and "Venus im Bade," because these poems

[1] This is a rejoinder to verses 37–40 of Uz' epistle "Schreiben des Verfassers der lyrischen Gedichte an einen Freund," which was issued in 1757 in reply to Wieland's previous attack. The epistle is found on pp. 377–84 in Sauer's edition of Uz' poetical works (*Deutsche Literaturdenkmale*, 33–8). The verses in question read as follows:

> Welch schwacher Geist hört' ich die Muse sagen,
> Will von Parnasz die Grazien verjagen?
> Ist niemand weis als wer nur immer weint,
> Ein finstrer Kopf, dem Schwermut Tugend scheint?

[2] See Seufferts: "Mitteilungen aus Wielands Jünglingsalter," *Euphorion*, XIV, 235.

[3] Cf. Chapter I, pp. 13–14, notes 36 and 37.

"reach the highest ideal which a poet inspired by the sight of the Shaftesburian Venus is capable of thinking, feeling and contemplating."[4] In June, 1769, he appeals to Jacobi to remain a favorite of the Graces, a painter of ideal beauties and a cheerful poet; and he assures him that by producing that kind of work he will deserve well of all those "whom nature has given a fine feeling for that which Shaftesbury calls the 'moral Venus' and the 'moral Graces.'"[5]

At the beginning of the next year he identifies the Graces that deck the goddess of beauty and dance with the Muses on the summit of Parnassus with the "moral Graces" of Shaftesbury.[6] Feb. 22, 1770, he praises a certain play of Jacobi as having beautiful simplicity, the beautiful ideal of moral sentiments, in brief "the moral Graces of Shaftesbury."[7] In January, 1775, he denotes the ideal of moral beauty as that "which Shaftesbury calls the moral Venus."[8] August 26, 1794, he identifies the "holy Virgin-mother of the Graces" with the "moral Grace" of Shaftesbury.[9] In 1802 he finds in the relation between Lykon and his son, in Xenophon's "Symposium," a "gentle and lovely blossom-fragrance," or something "which the noble Shaftesbury understands by his *moral Graces.*"[10] And in 1803 he praises the exceptional beauty of the scene in which Euripides introduces the character of Ion, and finds the character so admirable that the idea of further beautifying it would not occur to any one "whom heaven endowed with a feeling for genuine beautiful nature and for *Shaftesbury's moral Venus and moral Graces.*"[11]

The Shaftesburian ideas of spiritual beauty and moral charm

4 "Auswahl denkwürdiger Briefe," I, 225.

5 "Ausgewählte Briefe," letter to Jacobi, II, 318.

6 "Auswahl denkwürdiger Briefe," I, 144, to Sophie La Roche. The letter is undated, but it belongs probably to the end of 1769 or the beginning of 1770.

7 To Jacobi, "Ausgewählte Briefe," II, 349.

8 January number of the *Merkur,* 1775, p. 92, footnote.

9 To Sophie Reinhold, in "Reinhold und Wieland," by Robert Keil (Leipzig and Berlin, 1885), p. 199.

10 "Versuch über das Xenofontische Gastmahl," in *Attisches Museum,* IV^2, 116.

11 Note 6 in "Erläuterungen" to Euripides' "Ion," *Attisches Museum,* IV^3, 144.

are constantly reflected in Wieland's works. Thus he asserts that virtue appeals largely through the charm bestowed upon it by love. Much more beautiful than rosy cheeks and lily-white skin is a soul adorned by the splendor of innocence. True beauty will seldom deceive us, for it is reflected in the eyes, just as in a mirror; only the beauty of the soul wins lovers.[12] A great thought of an immortal mind is more beautiful than all the glitter of lifeless matter. The most beautiful marble Venus is nothing compared with the soul, the daughter of heaven, which keeps on blooming even after all the stars and all the beauty of the sky fade away. Wisdom is essential to real beauty.[13] Nothing else can inspire love as much as virtue veiled in beauty. It has always been the function of wisdom to adorn beauty with spirit and to provide it with graces which do not fade with the cheeks. Man is an image of divinity, an angel in animal form which is beautiful by the indwelling spirit.[14] The charms of the body are bestowed upon it by the soul; for this reason, while the man with an ignoble mind is swayed by mere sensual passion, the noble man beholds much higher beauties looking forth from under the splendid veil (the body) of a girl's soul.[15]

For the same reason, Cefise, Timoclea's friend, is not as beautiful as she might be, for instead of giving a wise answer she merely laughs and displays her pearly teeth; and upon hearing of a virtuous act she remains as indifferent as a statue. On the other hand, the lovely Pasithea pleases all who see her, and every wise man is bound to love her. When she speaks, her words are as harmonious as her voice, her sentiments upright and innocent as her looks, her manners comely. "If the Graces accompanying virtue should wish to assume human

12 "Anti-Ovid" (1752), lines 91 ff. Gruber, II, 21; lines 311 ff., *ibid.*, II, 30; "Moralische Briefe" (1752), 9 Brief, lines 89 ff., Gruber, I, 298.

13 "Briefe von Verstorbenen an hinterlassene Freunde" (1753), 1ter Brief, lines 109–10 (Gruber, II, 190); 2ter Brief, lines 74 ff.; 150–1 (pp. 208 and 213).

14 "Erinnerungen an eine Freundin" (1753), Göschen, XXVI, 283 and 281. "Platonische Betrachtungen über den Menschen" (1754), Göschen, XXIX, 110.

15 "Sympathien" (1755), Göschen, XXIX, 9 and "Prosaische Schriften," I, 112.

form they would assume thine, O Pasithea!" No girl is justified in considering herself beautiful unless she resembles this Pasithea. The art of becoming beautiful has for its prime essential a good heart. By leading an irregular and corrupt life a person will lose the beauty which he may have formerly possessed. Physical beauty is closely connected with physical health, and the latter depends immediately upon spiritual health, which consists of virtue. Complete beauty, therefore, requires both the soul, the noblest part, and the body to be each in its natural condition of health. To be sure, a treacherous soul may sometimes dwell in a strong and beautiful body, but vice so disguised will ultimately have its fatal effect. The effect of a beautiful soul is especially manifested in a charming personality; hence the person with a good upright character never fails to possess charm.[16]

The Graces painted by Theages suggest so much spiritual beauty as to deserve the name of moral Graces and to be described as the reflection of the inner goodness of a human soul; without them beauty is incomplete and lifeless; through them even a withered face becomes lovely.[17] Wisdom, virtue and moral Venus are used as identical terms;[18] and on another occasion beauty is described as the body of virtue, charm as its visible reflection.[19]

The notions of inner beauty, spiritual grace and moral charm, which are very common, as we have just seen, in Wieland's works of the first period of his literary career, occur also in his works after 1760. We read, for instance, that virtue, understanding and other such gifts are more charming in a beautiful form, but that even a homely maiden will attract our love if she only possesses spiritual beauty.[20] In the course of the general corruption which comes upon Scheschian during the reign of Isfandiar the women loose their bashfulness and inno-

16 "Timoklea. Ein Gespräch über scheinbare und wahre Schönheit" (1755), Göschen, XXXIII, 205–6, 209 ff., 212 ff.

17 "Theages: Über Schönheit und Liebe," Göschen, XXXIII, 234.

18 Letter to Zimmermann (1759), "Ausgewählte Briefe," II, 105.

19 "Araspes und Panthea" (1760), Göschen, XXVII, 11.

20 "Der neue Amadis" (1771), 18th Canto, first two stanzas, Göschen, XV, 269.

cence and all other qualities which enhance physical beauty and make up for the lack of it.[21] Refined persons who are not ruled by mere passion find beauty only in souls; even a Medusa, provided she possesses a beautiful soul, would to such persons become a Venus.[22] And Democritus of Abdera understands by beautiful eyes such as reflect a beautiful soul.[23]

Wieland praises Jacob Heinrich Meister's work[24] and finds it so charming and attractive especially on account of the author's *moral grace,* which breathes in all his sentiments and is conveyed to his composition.[25] As the beautiful Danae is impersonating Daphne in a dance, Agathon is so enchanted by her that he imagines he really sees before him the moral Venus with all her spiritual Graces.[26] And speaking of a certain impropriety on the part of Aristophanes, Wieland characterizes it as a transgression against the moral Graces.[27] Inasmuch as the soul has an immediate influence upon the body Menander is assured that his beloved maiden will never lose her physical beauty as long as the beauty of her soul remains the same.[28] The face of Psyche, Agathon's first lover, reflects the beauty of her soul. Melanippe claims that there is also a spiritual beauty which inspires a much purer and much more constant love than the beauty which only attracts the physical eye. And Hipparchia loves Krates on account of the beauty of his soul, the worth of his character and the graces of his social bearing and conduct.[29]

Aside from his spiritual beauty Shaftesbury develops his other well-known doctrine of divine, or prime, or original

21 "Der goldne Spiegel" (1772), Göschen, VIII, 57.

22 "Psyche unter den Grazien," *Teutscher Merkur,* May, 1774, pp. 121–2.

23 "Die Abderiten" (1781), Göschen, XIII, 35.

24 "Von der natürlichen Moral," German translation by Schulthesz from the French original of Meister. Edited by Wieland. I did not see the book in question.

25 "Moral der Natur" (1789), Hempel, XXXII, 153.

26 "Agathon," Göschen, IV, 163.

27 "Erläuterungen" to Aristophanes' "Wolken" (1798), *Attisches Museum,* III^3, 104.

28 "Sympathien," Göschen, XXIX, 213. "Menander und Glycerion" (1803), Letter X, Hempel, X, 23.

29 "Agathon," Göschen, V, 27. "Krates und Hipparchia" (1804), Letters IX and XXIX. Hempel, X, pp. 94 and 144.

beauty, which is the source of every other beauty. This notion is also very prominent in Wieland's works. God is to him the "first beauty," near and visible to everybody. Divinity is described as the "substance of all beauty," the "eternal beauty," the "everlasting prototype of the beautiful."[30] Nothing else can be considered more beautiful than divinity. So he calls upon beautiful nature to point out to him the divine beauty.[31] God alone is beauty, every joy proceeds from this fountain-head, from it flows every beauty which is admired by angels and by which men are charmed.[32] Everything that we love and admire, this splendor of nature, this harmony of things, whatever we call noble and great and comely in human manner and actions—all this is just an emanation of a pure original source of perfection, order and beauty, which in other words we call the supreme divinity.[33]

Everything that we see is only a vain shadow of the "first essential beauty," of that which is divine and ideally-beautiful.[34] Whatever enjoyment man has, he still feels that he cannot attain the perfect happiness for which he longs; and so he looks up to an intransitory good, to that which is the prototype and source of all that is good and beautiful, to God."[35] "Perfect beauty is the divinest thing in nature."[36] Peregrinus Proteus aspires to live the life of a spirit, which consists of rising from one stage of beauty to the other and of finally attaining the contemplation and enjoyment of that "highest original beauty, that heavenly Venus, which is the source and essence of all other beauty and perfection."[37] And Agathon, while contemplating in the moonlight the beauty of slumbering nature, comes to consider how happy must be the state of the spirits who

30 "Hymne auf Gott" (1753), Hempel, VI, 75. "Briefe von Verstorbenen an hinterlassene Freunde" (Gruber, Vol. II): 4 Brief, lines 34–5; 6 Brief, line 220; 8 Brief, line 108.

31 "Gesicht des Mirza," (1754), Göschen, XXIX, 72. "Empfindungen eines Christen" (1755), Göschen, XXVI, 221.

32 "Empfindungen eines Christen," *ibid.*, pp. 223, 249.

33 "Araspes und Panthea" (1760), Göschen, XXVII, 54.

34 "Musarion" (1768), lines 824 ff. Pröhle edition I, 39 (Vol. LI of the "Deutsche National-Literatur").

35 "Der goldne Spiegel," Göschen, VIII, 93.

36 "Aristipp" (1800–2), Göschen, XXII, 137.

37 "Peregrinus Proteus" (1791), Hempel, XXI, 61.

spend milleniums "in the contemplation of the essential beauty, the intransitory, eternal and divine."[38] Also Hipparchia feels on one occasion irradiated by the "divine archetypes of all the beautiful and good."[39]

Throughout his entire literary career Wieland emphasizes the identification of the good or the moral with the beautiful. Virtue is beautiful, the moral world is the most beautiful part of creation, the noblest part to which everything else is subservient.[40] Virtue is a real divinity, the moral order is an invisible veiled beauty.[41] When virtue appears in its beauty everybody is bound to love it. It is the superior beauty which makes man the supreme creature; if innocence, truth and virtue were to rule the world it would acquire thereby a more beautiful appearance. Morality is the beauty of mankind: what, therefore, can be more beautiful than the virtuous man?[42] The kind of paintings which Aspasia, one of the characters of "Theages," has in her gallery confers a great honor upon her, for, judging by these paintings, "she considers the beautiful and the good as inseparable."[43]

Moral beauty is used as a synonym for goodness and innocence. Tigranes is filled with admiration for the character of Cyrus, since he is "mightily aroused by the beauty of virtue"; and Araspes tells Panthea that her husband might suspect that she has fallen into the hands of a barbarian who is "without feeling for the higher beauty of virtue."[44] Aglaia, one of the Graces, while commending the dance of the daughters of Arcadia, orders that only the best one among them should receive the prize of beauty. Addressing his people, the wise lawgiver, Psammis, tells them that love and sympathy make

[38] "Agathon," Göschen, IV, 63.

[39] "Krates und Hipparchia," Letter XXXII, Hempel, X, 149.

[40] "Briefe von Verstorbenen," 1 Brief, line 119; 6 Brief, lines 122–3.

[41] "Gesicht des Mirza" (1754), Göschen, XXIX, 72. "Gesicht von einer Welt unschuldiger Menschen" (1754), "Prosaische Schriften," I, 247.

[42] "Die Prüfung Abrahams" (1753), Gruber, III, 34, lines 409–11. "Timoklea," Göschen, XXXIII, 216, 217–8. "Sympathien," *Ibid.*, XXIX, 22. "Betrachtungen über den Menschen," *Ibid.*, p. 108.

[43] "Theages," Göschen, XXXIII, 229.

[44] "Sympathien," *Ibid.*, XXIX, 4; "Cyrus," 3d canto, lines 363–4, Gruber, IV, 86; "Araspes und Panthea," Göschen, XXVII, 61.

for beauty; that every irregular passion or malevolent thought disfigures our features, poisons our looks and degrades the beautiful human figure into similarity with the lower animals; that as long as their hearts shall remain good they will be the most beautiful among the children of men.[45]

On another occasion virtue is called the "goddess of beautiful souls."[46] On leaving Smyrna Agathon is determined to take up an activity having the real general welfare as its aim, for more than ever he is now "convinced of the beauty of virtue."[47] Aristippus, whom Agathon meets in Syracuse, loves pleasure because he is a lover of the beautiful, and for the same reason he also loves the good.[48] And in Tarentum Agathon becomes so wise as to devote himself entirely to "the highest beauty, to virtue."[49] Lais reports to Aristippus that she has learned the following truths: that without virtue beauty and love cannot attain either duration or perfection, that the beautiful and the good are one and the same thing and that virtue is nothing else than a love of the beautiful and the good, a love which like a flame strives ever upwards, is not satisfied with anything imperfect and does not rest until it rises by degrees to the enjoyment of the highest beauty. Aristippus himself is a young man with excellent qualities, for as a lover of beauty he also loves virtue.[50]

Not only the good but also the true is beautiful and charming. This Shaftesburian doctrine is also represented in Wieland. Truth, says Wieland, in its first source is charmingly beautiful and pure. Aristippus loves the beautiful and good and in both the true. Truth is the "heavenly goddess of

45 "Die Grazien" (1770), Göschen, III, 114; "Der goldne Spiegel," Göschen, VII, 74.

46 "Vorbericht zum Anti-Cato," *Teutscher Merkur,* Aug., 1773, p. 108.

47 "Agathon," Part II, Göschen, V, 174–5.

48 "Agathon," Part III, Göschen, VI, 15. In a letter to Sophie and Reinhold (his daughter and son-in-law) Wieland mentions that his estate in Oszmanstätt has been "improved and—inasmuch as the good may also be called beautiful—beautified." Cf. Robert Keil: "Wieland und Reinhold," p. 243. (The letter is undated but Keil puts it as belonging to 1798.)

49 "Agathon," Part III, Göschen, VI, 271.

50 "Aristipp," Part I, Göschen, XXII, 189–90, 194.

beauty."[51] On the 12th of Sept., 1756, Wieland calls Zimmermann's attention to the Shaftesburian doctrine: "Hätte euch Shaftesbury nicht lehren sollen, dasz nur das Wahre, the true, schön ist?"[52]

Shaftesbury's identification of the good and true and beautiful encountered very strenuous opposition on the part of Kant, and Wieland's sympathy with Shaftesbury's doctrine is further illustrated by his objection to this particular part of Kantian philosophy. Kant very clearly and emphatically separates the realms of morality, logic and esthetics. The beautiful, he claims, represents an object merely in relation to the senses, but in order to be called good the object must pass through the conception of some purpose and be subjected to the principles of reason. The good always refers an object to a definite purpose, and is independent of the idea of the beautiful, inasmuch as esthetic judgment is based upon mere formal adaptation of means to end (*formale Zweckmäszigkeit*). Perfection wins nothing from beauty and vice versa. The beautiful is a matter of taste, while the good is a matter of reason; hence, it is wrong to identify the one with the other. Some philosophers, Kant continues, consider an interest in beauty as a sign of a good moral character. This doctrine, however, he says, has very properly been refuted by others who show from experience that virtuosi of taste are usually given over to destructive passions.[53]

All this, as we see, is a direct contrast to Shaftesbury's doctrine. Wieland's attitude to the Kantian doctrine is best seen from his criticism of Herder's "Kalligone," which is directed against Kant's "Kritik der Urteilskraft," the very work in which Kant draws his sharp distinction between the good and the beautiful. In this criticism, which appeared in August, 1800, in the *Neuer Teutscher Merkur*, Wieland praises Herder's work

51 "Natur der Dinge" (1751), Book VI, lines 33–4, Gruber, I, 168. "Aristipp," Part I, Göschen, XXII, 41. "Briefe von Verstorbenen," 4 Brief, line 3, Gruber, II, 247.

52 "Ausgewählte Briefe," I, 218.

53 Kant's "Kritik der Urteilskraft" (1790), edited by Karl Kehrbach (text of the edition A of 1790). Cf. especially pp. 44–5, 47–9, 51, 73, 75, 78, 124, 163.

strongly and recommends that it be read and reread by everybody "that has at heart the truly beautiful and good," adding that his own views on Herder's book are contained in the book itself.[54] Instead of giving his own views, Wieland then quotes passages from the "Kalligone," and the following passage, which is given here in substance, is of special significance, since it clearly states Wieland's attitude with regard to the separation of esthetics from morality. The good men of all times, says Herder-Wieland, endeavored to present the beautiful as the good and true, but we are coldly and deliberately trying to separate that which nature has gently intertwined in us, and we rejoice over the doctrine that "the beautiful must be neither true nor good" (these are, of course, Kant's words). "If," he adds, "this is not desecration of the noblest part of humanity, of the arts, of feeling, of reason, I do not know of any."[55]

2. *Esthetic and Moral Sense. Morality and Nature*

Like Shaftesbury, Wieland also argues for an esthetic and moral sense. In 1759 he compliments his friend Zimmermann on his "*sensus veri, pulchri et boni, or that which Shaftesbury calls the sensus communis.*"[56] The doctrine occurs in Wieland's works as early as 1752 and as late as 1812. "Deep within the sanctuary of our soul lies the fountain of love, the bent towards the good and beautiful." The feeling of the beautiful is a peculiar characteristic of man. Even the most barbarous people always seek to improve and to beautify their condition. It may go slowly at the beginning, but the "bent for the more beautiful and the better" (*der Trieb zum Schönern und Bessern*) gradually increases. The human race is provided by nature with everything that is necessary to notice, to observe, to compare and to distinguish things. With satisfactory certainty we always know what is beautiful or ugly, right or wrong. There is no folly or vice the incongruity or injuriousness of which cannot at once be detected. There is "in our breast the voice

[54] See p. 260.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 268.
[56] "Ausgewählte Briefe," II, 6.

of God, which gives its approval when we act justly and nobly."[57]

This moral sense, or *sensus communis,* or good taste, is a "tester" (*Prüfer*) of the beautiful and noble. It is a readiness to perceive the beauty of nature and art, but especially the beauty and nobility of sentiments, actions, manners and characters. This least of all deceivable feeling for the true and the good, this inner consciousness of the just, this feeling granted by nature to all men, can best tell us how to act.[58] The tender feeling for the beautiful and perfect is the foundation of everything great and admirable that man can do, the genuine mother of heroism and virtue. As a result of luxury there ensues a weakening of the soul or a "dulness of the inner sense for true greatness."[59]

The soul which has developed its sense for the true, great and beautiful is not confined to the pleasure coming merely from indispensable things; it also enjoys, for instance, the pleasure of knowledge for its own sake and other noble sentiments. A wise and virtuous man has among other qualities a spirit that is sensitive to the beautiful. It is the love of beauty on the part of his people that forms a good foundation for the wise lawgiver, Psammis, to give the people wise laws and to make them happy thereby.[60] A man with an esthetic sense is bound to be amiable; such a man is Hermotimus, the friend of Leontion and Glycera. And so Athens is the foremost city in the world, because it is the chief seat of the arts and the Muses and possesses the "finest sense for all that is beautiful and great."[61] The Greeks were able to attain such a high stage of culture, because they realized how closely sound reason, regularity of

[57] "Anti-Ovid," 2d Canto, lines 1–2, Gruber, II, 18. "Aristipp," Part I, Göschen, XXII, 394. "Danischmend" (1775), Göschen, IX, 60–1, 239.

[58] "Cyrus" (1759), 3d Canto, line 73, Gruber, IV, 67. "Plan einer Akademie," in "Prosaische Schriften," III, 140. "Agathon," Part III, Göschen, VI, 169.

[59] "Araspes und Panthea," Göschen, XXVII, 51. "Uber die vorgebliche Abnahme des menschlichen Geschlechts" (1777), Göschen, XXIX, 327.

[60] "Über weibliche Bildung" (1785), Hempel, XXXV, 235. "Ausgewählte Briefe," I, 296, to Zimmermann, Oct. 18, 1758. "Der goldne Spiegel," Part I, Göschen, VII, 66.

[61] "Menander und Glycerion," Hempel, X, 65–6. "Aristipp," Part II, Göschen, XXIII, 362.

temper and politeness of manners were connected with good taste, or that fine capacity to perceive by an inner sense the harmonious and beautiful. Before young people are taught any system of morality their moral sense should be developed and sharpened. It is necessary that the teacher himself should possess the "moral-sense" (Wieland employs this English term) in a high degree.[62]

And so this esthetic and moral sense comes to stand for everything that is noble and uplifting, while that which is inhuman and unrefined is described as a transgression against this sense. Herder's "Adrastea," we read, is such an admirable book that it should be in the hands of all those that have the "sense for the true and beautifully-good" (*das Schön-Gute*). The treachery committed by Helena against the King of Faros is described as an act offensive to our moral-esthetic sense (*der moralische Schönheitssinn*). The priest Strobylus of Abdera is represented as a shallow and uncouth man, in brief, as a man without an esthetic sense. And the emperor Domitian is cruel and inhuman, since he has a "Stumpfsinn für alles Schöne und Gute."[63]

And now we can readily understand why Wieland emphasizes more or less the esthetic-moral sense in several of his characters. Isaac describes his friend Abiasaf as being his equal as far as the taste for beauty is concerned.[64] Cyrus has a natural propensity for the good and beautiful, an inborn

[62] "Plan einer Akademie," in "Prosaische Schriften," III, 111–12, 141–2.

[63] *Neuer Teutscher Merkur,* April, 1802, p. 277. *Neues Attisches Museum,* II², 74. "Abderiten" (1781), Göschen, XIV, 33. "Agathodämon" (1799), Hempel, XXIII, 147.

[64] "Die Prüfung Abrahams" (1753), 2d Canto, lines 210–2, Gruber, III, 50. One of the most important qualities of Madame de Staël appears to Wieland under the form of susceptibility to the true and beautiful (letter to his daughter, Sophie Reinhold, Jan. 16, 1804; see "Wieland und Reinhold," by R. Keil, p. 267). March 12, 1772, he compliments his friend Ring on his love of the good and the beautiful. (Heinrich Funck: "Beiträge zur Wieland-Biographie, aus ungedruckten Papieren," Freiburg and Tübingen, 1882, p. 16.) Still earlier, Dec. 12, 1753, he writes to Sophie that her new union (with La Roche) will not take away the gentle sympathy existing between their souls, the sympathy which is grounded in the true love of the good and beautiful. (Gruber, "Wieland's Leben," Gruber edition, L, 170).

feeling of what is right and noble. The image of beauty and order which nature has impressed upon his soul, is the only law to which he subjects himself.[65] Peregrinus Proteus' love of beauty is as characteristic of his nature as breathing is of his lungs. Menander's comedies surpass those of his contemporaries on account of his innate love of beauty, which is transmitted to his work. When Narcissus and Narcissa are brought together, the latter becomes aware of her sense of beauty and goodness, the sense which has hitherto slumbered or was blunted by vanity and selfishness.[66] We have it emphasized again and again that Cicero had a fine esthetic-moral sense (*Sinn für das Sittlichschöne*), and we are told that Socrates had an esthetic sense because his wisdom was of the highest kind.[67] Eros, Aristippus' friend, is swayed by an irresistible impulse toward the good and the beautiful, and he finds no rest until, united with the good and beautiful, he produces noble sentiments and deeds. Aristippus himself possesses such an esthetic-moral sense.[68] Dion, with whom Agathon comes in contact in Syracuse, has a character that delights the *moral sense*. Agathon, Wieland's chief hero, is a man with a fine moral sense. Sensitive as his eyes are, they are not more so than his *moral sense,* and an object which offends the latter cannot impress the former favorably. There are many things in Hippias' home that offend his moral sense. He belongs to the class of lovers who by the fineness of their feeling are capable of judging of the physical pleasures of love and by their *inner esthetic-moral sense* (*innere Sinn für das sittliche Schöne*) are competent to judge of the moral pleasures of love.[69]

In Shaftesbury's manner Wieland then elaborates the beneficial effect of the love of beauty. The lover of beauty is him-

[65] "Agathon," Part III, Göschen, VI, 263. "Araspes und Panthea," *Ibid.*, XXVII, 112.

[66] "Peregrinus Proteus," Hempel, XXI, 48. "Menander und Glycerion," *ibid.*, X, 24. "Das Hexameron von Rosenhain" (1805), *ibid.*, XIII, 35.

[67] "Ciceros sämmtliche Briefe, übersetzt und erläutert von Wieland" (in 7 volumes; the last two volumes by Gräter), IV, (1811), introduction, p. xxii; V (1812), 530 and 533. "Versuch über das Xenofontische Gastmahl," *Attisches Museum,* IV^2, 117.

[68] "Aristipp," Göschen, XXIII, 273 and 6.

[69] "Agathon," Göschen, V, 195; IV, 79, 60, 204.

self beautiful, for the object of his love transmits its splendor to him. When your soul is filled with ideals of beauty and perfection, you look down with inner rest and freedom upon human evil passions; and while others try to satisfy their insatiable hunger by animal indulgence, you feed on the pure ambrosia of the gods, on beauty, harmony and perfection. A man with a natural disposition for the noble and beautiful is easily convinced that the entire universe is to be considered as a single state, and the whole human race as one large family in this *City of God,* which is ruled by the eternal laws of nature and reason; that in accordance with this order grounded in the nature of things men cannot enjoy any welfare, unless they are governed by the same natural and rational laws which keep the entire universe in eternal order.[70] It is by virtue of the love of beauty that man is able to be what he actually is. Without the love of beauty, without the sympathetic affections, man would have nothing else to do but to eat and sleep and propagate his species, like every other animal. He would be nothing else but the king of the apes, and even this privilege would be disputed by a stronger and more courageous animal.[71]

Owing, however, to the superiority of human nature to that of the lower animals, man is endowed with a taste for harmony, beauty and charm; hence the greater his love of beauty, the more perfect man is, the more like himself. Man enjoys pure pleasure in the contemplation of beauty, which in this respect is like unto the contemplation of virtue; both are just as much a necessity for man's spiritual nature as food for his animal part. Through the power of detecting the rule of the beautiful and pleasant man is enabled to extend almost to the infinite the bounds of his pleasure. All arts and sciences owe their growth and development to man's innate love of beauty and perfection, which makes him the master over the lower animals, subjects to him the earth and sea, and finally enables him to transform nature and to create a new world for himself. He ennobles his physical needs and impulses, which he has in common with

70 "Aristipp," Göschen, XXIII, 281; "Peregrinus Proteus," Hempel, XXI, 62. "Agathodämon" (1799), *ibid.,* XXII, 142.

71 "Koxkox und Kikequetzel" (1770), *ibid.,* XXXI, 47–8.

the lower animals. He invents art after art, which contribute to the security and enjoyment of his existence; and thus he rises incessantly from the indispensable to the comfortable, and from the comfortable to the beautiful. After attending to his first needs he strives to beautify his condition, and thus villages are changed to large cities, places of art and commerce, international centers and the like. In the same proportion as he improves and beautifies his outward condition he also develops his feeling for moral beauty, submits to laws of justice and equity, checks his shortcomings, controls his passions and shows his better side. "Through all these he finally rises to the highest possible perfection of his spirit, to the great conception (*Begriff*) of the whole of which he is a part, to the ideal of the good and beautiful, to wisdom and virtue, and to the worship of the inscrutable primitive power of nature, the common father of spirits, the recognition and observance of whose laws is at once their greatest prerogative, foremost duty and purest pleasure."[72]

Closely connected with all this is the ideal of esthetic culture advocated both by Shaftesbury and Wieland. A beautiful object, says Aristippus-Wieland, bestows its beauty upon the contemplator and lover of it. It is, therefore, necessary that everything seen and heard by us from our childhood on should be beautiful. We should accustom our eyes to the beauty of nature and out of her manifold beautiful forms fill our mind (*Phantasie*) with ideas of beauty. The ear should be accustomed to gentle melodies, such as breathe beautiful feelings, gently agitate the heart and rock the slumbering soul into sweet dreams.[73]

The close connection between virtue and art, to which Shaftesbury so frequently calls attention, is again and again emphasized by Wieland. The fine arts, he says, should be the "playmates and handmaids of truth and virtue." They encour-

[72] "Platonische Betrachtungen über den Menschen" (1754), Göschen, XXIX, 105. "Über das Verhältnis des Angenehmen und Schönen zum Nützlichen" (1775), Hempel, XXXII, 36–9.

[73] "Aristipp," Göschen, XXIII, 281. "Abderiten," Göschen, XIII, 14. "Der goldne Spiegel," Göschen, VII, 74 and 75.

age virtue and beautify life and manners.[74] In consequence of the great artistic activity during the reign of one of the kings of Scheschian, the feelings and morals of the people are refined. The people become gentler and more sociable, learn to enjoy contact with one another, to participate in common joys and to feel all the happier, the greater the number of happy folk they see round about them. During the reign of Tifan the works of the Scheschian artists surpass those of other lands, because in their artistic work they unite beauty with goodness.[75] Art prevents men from becoming rough, for through it they become acquainted with gentler, finer and nobler pleasures. And so the Greeks looked upon the fine arts as sources of decent and modest enjoyments and as the best means of rendering the mind and heart tender and tractable; so a man who was not a favorite or connoisseur of the muses was considered by them rough and uncouth.[76] Agathon's early experience in Delphi impresses upon him the idea how greatly the fine arts contribute to the development of the moral man and how wise the priests were to have deified the Muses and Graces, whose favorites have rendered the Greeks such great services. Also, later on, after a long experience in life, Agathon is convinced that, when directed by wisdom, the arts beautify, cultivate and ennoble man; that art is half of human nature, and that without it man is the most wretched of animals.[77]

The poet is also called upon to work in the same direction, and Wieland makes of him exactly the same demands as Shaftesbury. The muses, we are told, are never more beautiful than when they are in the service of virtue. The purpose of poetry is to portray virtue in all its beauty; to relate divine deeds; to inspire man with a taste for the noble, great and sublime; to lure the spirit away from sensual things and to accustom it to heavenly things.[78] The poet himself should have

74 "Theages," in "Prosaische Schriften," I, 163. "Der goldne Spiegel," Göschen, VIII, 215. "Cyrus," 4th Canto, lines 74–5, Gruber, IV, 99. "Aristipp," Göschen, XXIII, 340.

75 "Der goldne Spiegel," Göschen, VII, 44 and VIII, 190.

76 "Danischmend" (1775), Göschen, IX, 101. "Plan einer Akademie," in "Prosaische Schriften," III, 111.

77 "Agathon," Göschen, V, 5 and VI, 329.

78 "Sympathien," Göschen, XXIX, 26. "Theages," *ibid.*, XXXIII, 222.

a love of the beautiful and sublime, abhor every evil act, admire every noble deed, possess a sociable attitude and a "zärtlichste Lebhaftigkeit der sympathetischen Neigungen." Instead of pleasing the reader for just a short time the poet must captivate the reader's whole soul, set into play all his feelings, enchant his imagination and "furnish his heart with the sweet enjoyment of his best sentiments, of his moral sense, his feeling for the joys and sorrows of others and his admiration for everything that is noble, beautiful and great in humanity."[79]

And life in general is conceived as an art both by Shaftesbury and Wieland. Wieland regrets that there are so few who apply their talent to the *art of living,* the art, which he describes as "the first, the most necessary, the most beautiful of all arts."[80] "The wise man, he writes to Zimmermann, cultivates all his inner and outer senses, exercises all his faculties, enjoys the whole of nature; he alone knows truly *the art of living.*"[81] And his Aristippus strives to make great progress "in der Kunst zu leben."[82]

Aside from the innate love of beauty and its beneficial effect, Wieland also develops the other well-known Shaftesburian doctrine, *i. e.,* that virtue is natural and universal, and that man is by nature a social creature. Since God made our souls susceptible to the beautiful and sublime, since the love not only of material but also of moral beauty is essential to our nature, so uprightness, innocence, faithfulness, gratitude, magnanimity, patience, courage, and other virtues inspire us with esteem and love, wherever, whenever and in whomsoever they are observed, regardless of all utility they have or might have for us. Our own *ego* comes so little into consideration, that if we were told of a virtuous deed performed ten thousand years ago by a man in the moon, the idea of that deed would impress us just as much as if it had been performed in our midst only a few days ago. And so Agathon, as a result of his extensive travels,

[79] "Sendschreiben an einen jungen Dichter" (1782), Göschen, XXXIII, 270, 289.

[80] "Sympathien," *ibid.,* XXIX, 57; "Die Züricher Abschiedsrede" (1759); *Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturgeschichte,* 1889, II, 587.

[81] Letter of March 12, 1758: "Ausgewählte Briefe," I, 260.

[82] "Aristipp," Part I, Göschen, XXII, 276.

comes to the conclusion that virtue is honored by all peoples, the wildest barbarians as well as the cultured and refined Greeks, and that no community, were it even a group of Arabian robbers, can exist without some degree of virtue.[83]

We have it emphasized, therefore, that man is by nature social. It is wrong, Wieland claims with Shaftesbury, to base the social order upon the notion of a contract, for the social order is a law which is grounded in human nature and conditions man's whole progress and development. Since sociability is instinctive in man, there is no truth in Rousseau's doctrine that the present state of society is a state into which men have passed from an opposite state, *i. e.*, the state of nature. Even in the state of nature man is a social creature, and so our modern society is not the result of a transition from one state to its opposite, but a mere continuance of the same state.[84] Only as a member of society man is in his natural position; without society he is out of place. Agathon, therefore, on fleeing from Athens, decides to seek only a place where a virtuous man should enjoy the happiness belonging to him, while staying in the midst of society. Alcestis, who on account of his disgust with mankind decides to retire into seclusion, is ridiculed and warned that in so far as he will have nobody to whom he may communicate his observations, nobody to approve of his actions or to love him, he will soon grow weary of his hermit-life. And Brother Lutz, the hermit, loses very much in consequence of his hermit-life. The high-steward (*Seneschal*), in the very midst of society, lives a much more virtuous life than the hermit in his seclusion; such is the fatal effect of withdrawing from society.[85] This entire doctrine of the naturalness of man's virtue and sociability can best be summarized in the following words of Wieland: From our general experience, from incontestable evidence, from all ends of the

83 "Sympathien," in "Prosaische Schriften," I, 105. "Aristipp," Göschen, XXIII, 286, 101. "Agathon," Göschen, VI, 327.

84 "Lustreise ins Elysium" (1787), Hempel, XXXIII, 263. "Beiträge zur geheimen Geschichte des menschlichen Verstandes und Herzens" (1770), Leipzig edition, 1770, II, 42.

85 "Agathon," Göschen, IV, 40. "Sympathien," *ibid.*, XXIX, 13–14. "Die Wasserkufe" (1795), *ibid.*, XII, 99–100, 124–5.

earth, we have the truth "that man is made for sociableness; that the united forces of superstition, barbarism and oppression have ever been unable to destroy this costly jewel of social virtue, this sympathy which, with a sweet authority, compels man to love himself in other men."[86]

3. *The Inherent Worth of Virtue*

Wieland upholds most emphatically the well-known Shaftesburian doctrine that virtue has its own peculiar source; that it has an inherent worth which makes it independent of custom, vogue and even religion. Virtue, says Wieland, may sometimes be hindered, it may become dormant, but it will ultimately have its proper course. A beautiful soul endowed by nature with the gentlest sense of the good and beautiful, and with an innate ease in the practice of every social virtue, may by unfavorable circumstances be hindered in its development, but it can never cease to be a beautiful soul. Just as soon as the mist is dispelled the beautiful soul once more recognizes the divinity of virtue. The love of virtue, the desire to model itself after the divine ideal of moral beauty, takes possession of all its proclivities and becomes a passion.[87]

Shaftesbury frequently defends his doctrine against such philosophers as Hobbes and Locke by first stating their point of view and then attacking it. Wieland uses the same method, for he also condemns or refers sarcastically to the opposite doctrine. Whence, he exclaims, comes this reluctance to believe that one can do good for its own sake; that friends can love each other without being influenced by any other considerations than *their love of the good and beautiful?*[88] And so the wise Kador stands up for the cause of virtue in the face of the opposition from those who assert that only a fool believes in virtue as such; that virtue has no intrinsic worth; that what people call virtue consists of a number of arbitrary signs which differ in the various lands; that inasmuch as each land puts a

[86] Beiträge zur geheimen Geschichte des menschlichen Verstandes und Herzens," I, 228.

[87] "Agathon," Göschen, VI, 188–9.

[88] "Gedanken über eine alte Aufschrift" (1772), Hempel, XXXII, 57.

different stamp upon notions of virtue, just as upon its coins, there is little real difference betwen the pliant European, the haughty Persian, the pious Armenian and the rude Kamchadale.[89] Further on Danischmend[90] condemns Eblis' system of philosophy. Eblis asserts that truth varies according to various views; that beauty and deformity depend upon our special temper, mood or point of view; that virtue is merely an arbitrary agreement on the part of some pedantic heads to inspire the crowd with respect and confidence by means of some arbitrary semblance of justice and mangnanimity; that there always have been fools who endeavored to practice the virtue preached by those pedants; that he must be a threefold fool who at his own expense wishes to make a friend happy or to live for others, when he can compel others to live for him. All this is condemned by Danischmend as an "abscheuliche Moral."[91] These protests may be regarded as a reflection of Shaftesbury's opposition to Hobbes and Locke.

Wieland's adherence to Shaftesbury is in this connection further shown by his opposition to Mandeville. Mandeville's purpose is, as he himself states,[92] to set himself into direct opposition to Shaftesbury. His philosophy, therefore, which from beginning to end is grounded in pure materialism and drenched in outrageous cynicism, is a direct attack on Shaftesbury's doctrine. Shaftesbury's views, Mandeville declares, are a high compliment to mankind; but they are inconsistent with daily experience, for man is by nature neither social nor virtuous. Whatever virtue man practices originates entirely

89 "Der goldne Spiegel," Göschen, VIII, 16–18.

90 Danischmend is the adviser of Schach-Gebal in "Der goldne Spiegel" and the hero of the work: "Geschichte des weisen Danischmende." Just before Wieland came to Weimar at the call of Duchess Amalie the young prince, Carl August, wrote to Wieland (July 23, 1772) expressing his joy that the latter has consented to come to the ducal home as philosopher and "leib Danischmende" (*Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturgeschichte,* edited by B. Seuffert, 1890, III, 611.) Also among his friends Wieland was called Danischmend (M. Koch: "Chr. M. Wieland" in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie,* XLII, 415). This can be accounted for by Wieland's resemblance to his hero.

91 "Der goldne Spiegel," Göschen, VIII, 20–21.

92 Mandeville: "Search into the Nature of Society" (in the 5th edition, 1729, of the "Fable of the Bees"), I, 372.

from self-interest and his fondness for praise and flattery. Man loves company for his own sake and not out of natural affection for mankind. "The sociableness of man arises from the multiplicity of his desires and the continual opposition he meets with in his endeavors to gratify them." Man cannot always detect the *pulchrum* and *honestum* in morality and nature, because great uncertainty exists in the works of nature and in the moral world. Man loves and hates for himself. "Every individual is a little world by itself," and his own happiness seems to be the whole purpose of his life.[93]

From the very beginning, Mandeville claims, we are taught to be hypocrites, for if our thoughts were laid open to others we should be unable to endure one another. "There is no difference between will and pleasure in one sense, and everywhere motion made in spite of them must be unnatural and convulsive. Since then action is so confined and we are always forced to do what we please, and at the same time our thoughts are free and uncontrolled, it is impossible we could be sociable creatures without hypocrisy."[94] It is a mistake, he asserts, to consider the social and praiseworthy qualities of man as beneficial to the public. For instance, the fewer desires a man has the more loved he is, and yet the lack of many appetites on the part of the individual cannot promote the wealth, power, and glory of a nation. We need the "sensual courtier," the "haughty duchess," the "lavish heir," and the "covetous villain," in order to have the great variety of labor and to procure a livelihood for the vast multiude of the working poor. Envy and avarice keep the members of society at work; pride, sensuality and sloth promote art and science. Vice, he argues, is necessary for the prosperity of a state, and only fools can believe in the possibility of enjoying the charms of the earth and being at the same time virtuous.[95]

Wieland's attitude to this greatest opponent of Shaftesbury is one of disapprobation. He refers to Mandeville as a depre-

[93] Mandeville: "Search into the Nature of Society," I, 372 ff., 376 ff., 390 ff., 396; "Inquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue," I. 27 ff. Also 4th dialogue between Horatio and Cleomenes, II, 196.

[94] "Search into the Nature of Society," I, 401 ff.

[95] *Ibid.*, 409 ff., 424 ff. Also "Fable of the Bees," I, 23–4.

ciator of mankind and speaks of him as one who certainly has not rendered the best service to virtue by preaching its falseness.[96] The conversion of everybody to genuine Christianity would according to Mandeville be detrimental to society; for then no wars would be waged, manufacture would be ruined, the ship industry and commerce in general would suffer very much.[97] Here we have Wieland's direct attack upon the main theme of the "Fable of the Bees."

To a certain extent Wieland also maintains Shaftesbury's doctrine concerning virtue's independence of religion, but like Shaftesbury he emphasizes the necessity of religion.[98] Even the best and happiest man can through religious belief become still better and happier. Religion promotes morality, but it loses its effect the moment manners become corrupt; and so Agathon, after a long experience in life and as a result of extensive travels, comes to the conclusion that individuals as well as whole peoples may sometimes have religion without virtue, but that when they are already virtuous they become all the better through religion.[99] According to this, therefore, virtue is prior to religion, and the latter exerts its beneficial influence only when the former is already on hand.

On the whole, however, Wieland urges, religion grounded in reason is a moral necessity of mankind. It is so deeply rooted in human nature that, in order to uproot it, it would be necessary to uproot human nature itself. Such religious belief is not only beneficial but to a certain extent indispensable, in so far as it is free from superstition or demonism;[100] and that by demon-

96 "An Psyche," *Teutscher Merkur,* April, 1774, p. 32. "Vorbericht zum Anti-Cato," *ibid.,* Aug., 1773, p. 119.

97 "Anna Maria von Schurmann" (1777), Hempel, XXXV, 348–9.

98 Unlike Herder, Lessing considers Shaftesbury as an enemy of Christianity and objects to Wieland's frequent praise of the Englishman. He hopes that Wieland's frequent praise of Shaftesbury will be taken into consideration by the theologians before they become interested in Wieland's poetry. Shaftesbury, Lessing adds, is the "most dangerous enemy of Christianity, because he is the finest." See: "Briefe die neueste Literatur betreffend." 12 Brief. Lachmann-Muncker edition, VIII, 27.

99 "Gebrauch der Vernunft in Glaubenssachen" (1788), Hempel, XXXII, 282. "Der goldne Spiegel," Göschen, VIII, 215. "Agathon," Göschen, VI, 328.

100 "Gebrauch der Vernunft in Glaubenssachen," p. 314.

ism Wieland means exactly the same as Shaftesbury Wieland himself elsewhere states. The idolatry, he says, which has affected the majority of the human race, consists of what Shaftesbury calls demonism, namely, idolatrous worship of a number of infernal deities, protective spirits, good and bad demons, and of the superstition connected with the images of these gods.[101]

In connection with the inherent worth of virtue, Shaftesbury advances the doctrine that virtue should be conceived as a real pleasure and not as a matter of stern duty or self-denial. The practice of virtue out of pure natural propensity is with Shaftesbury the height of morality; and so it is with Wieland. Virtue, he says, would be ever so much more lovable if instead of being forced upon us as a matter of duty it were to be practiced out of voluntary inclination. It is very important, therefore, that one should easily dispense with that which is forbidden by duty.[102] And so in a state of love, when we have a higher sense of beauty, a loftier stage of general sympathy, and more than a usual impulse toward the sublime—in such a state we also possess a stronger impulse to practice virtue.[103] The most virtuous man has not only a fine taste for beauty, but also a noble proclivity to virtue. That is why it is the pleasure of beautiful souls to practice virtue joyfully, "aus Neigung, nicht aus Pflicht."[104] As an example of a highly desirable class of people Danischmend sets up those that have no temptations, that are incapable of doing evil, are true to other men and to nature, feel the true and do the good without finding any difficulty in all this.[105]

Under the influence of Musarion, Phanias learns the "charming philosophy" which dictates the practice of virtue out of natural taste. That the Scheschian priests under the reign of

101 "Anmerkungen über A. Dow's Nachrichten von der Religion der Braminen" (1775), Hempel, XXXV, 50. Shaftesbury's conception of demonism, to which Wieland alludes, is found in the "Characteristics," II, 11.

102 "Der goldne Spiegel," Göschen, VIII, 5. "Die Wasserkufe," Göschen, XII, 105.

103 "Der goldne Spiegel," Göschen, VIII, 89.

104 "Betrachtungen über den Menschen," *ibid.*, XXIX, 118. "Traum ein Leben" (1771), *ibid.*, III, 238.

105 "Danischmend," *ibid.*, IX, 75.

Tifan are able to become the worthy teachers of the nation, patrons of good manners and models of virtue, is due among other things to the moral charm that has spread itself through their lives and to the ease and readiness with which they fulfilled every duty.[106] Krates has a very noble and sublime character, because it is his earnest purpose to bring his propensities into the purest harmony with duty.[107] Chariklea, or the former Danae, is all the more esteemed, the more natural she finds virtue and the fewer the sacrifices she seems to be bringing to it. Aristippus, with whom Agathon comes into contact in Syracuse, is a lover of the kind of virtue the practice of which makes him happy and does not impose upon him any stern duties. Archytas recommends very highly the Pythagorean philosophy, because it renders every virtue easy and natural. And Archytas himself, the moment he perceives his full worth as a human being, as a "citizen of the city of God," finds the practice of every virtue easy.[108]

4. *The Relation of Beauty and Virtue to Harmony*

According to Shaftesbury harmonious coordination of parts into one whole makes for beauty in the outside world, while harmony in our actions and sentiments produces that inner beauty for which morality is only a synonym. This doctrine is also reflected in Wieland. Beauty, he says, consists of the mutual relation of the various parts and of their combination into harmonious unity of the whole. A beautiful object pleases us chiefly because of the harmony of all its parts when surveyed in a single moment. There must be uniformity amidst variety, and the manifold must be combined through harmony into one whole by the total impression of which we are to be pleased. This alone produces in us the idea of beauty. If, instead of seeing but fragments of a boundless whole, we could in one glance survey all of nature, we should see before us the true archetype of all beauty. The wonderful and the divine

106 "Musarion" (1768), lines 1426–7, 1439–40, Pröhle (in "Deutsche National-Litteratur"), I, 57. "Der goldne Spiegel," Göschen, VIII, 208.

107 "Krates und Hipparchia," Hempel, X, 144.

108 "Agathon," Göschen, VI, 325, 15, 321, 315–6.

in nature, that by which she is so far superior to human art, consists of the fact that each one of her smallest parts contains a world full of harmonious variety, and that all these various parts are most intimately connected into a single uniform body.[109]

Wieland especially emphasizes the close connection between virtue and harmony. Without virtue, we are told, there is no true harmony; even the love of God is nothing else than the love of order. In his vision Mirza sees virtue in her heavenly form accompanied by a most beautiful nymph who, as his guide tells him, is none other than Harmony, the sister of Virtue.[110] The most virtuous men are, therefore, endowed with an harmonious disposition, and this harmony must be manifested in the total nature of man.[111] Body and soul, he claims, must always be in perfect harmony. The suppression of the physical side of man is inconsistent with human nature.[112] So Dioclea points out to Peregrinus Proteus how unnecessary and unnatural this suppression is. The senses, she emphasizes, are not to be destroyed but ennobled, refined and harmonized with the spiritual nature of man.[113] If, instead of living in mutual harmony, body and soul ever come to be treated as two distinct forces of different interests, fatal results are bound to ensue. Man is then no longer the noble creature which he is intended to be, for he then separates that which God has joined together, and there arises in him an unnatural conflict between animal and spirit, each one asserting its right at the expense of the other.[114] Archytas describes the establishing of a complete harmony between these two natures as the highest perfection of humanity.[115]

The same harmony should also exist between the moral and intellectual natures. The dissonance between the heart and

[109] "Aristipp," Göschen, XXIII, 79, 97–100.

[110] "Sympathien," in "Prosaische Schriften," I, 7, 109. "Gesicht des Mirza," Göschen, XXIX, 72–3.

[111] "Betrachtungen über den Menschen," *ibid.*, XXIX, 118.

[112] "Timoklea," *ibid.*, XXXIII, 214. "Theages," *ibid.*, p. 249.

[113] "Peregrinus Proteus," Hempel, XXI, 83.

[114] "Philosophie als Kunst zu leben und Heilkunst der Seele betrachtet" (1754), Hempel, XXXII, 31–2.

[115] "Agathon," Göschen, VI, 307–8.

head, Wieland claims, becomes greater and more dangerous the longer we fail to examine carefully our moral notions with the view of establishing harmony between the parts and the whole. First of all, therefore, Archytas undertakes to bring Agathon's head into permanent accord with his heart.[116] A human character, asserts Aristippus, is to be called beautiful only in so far as it presents a completed whole in harmony with itself. "Das Schönste in dieser Art wäre also unstreitig ein ganzes Leben, welches, aus lauter schönen Gesinnungen und Thaten zusammengesetzt, uns das Anschauen der reinsten Harmonie aller Triebe und Fähigkeiten eines Menschen zu Verfolgung des groszen Zwecks der möglichsten Selbestveredlung und der ausgebreitetsten Mitteilung gewähren würde."[117]

Such a character is Archytas, for he possesses that happy serene temperament, that complete harmony of all human faculties and movements, that harmony wherein wisdom and virtue flow together.[118] Such a character is Musarion, for she also possesses that remarkable equilibrium between the spirit and the senses and holds the happy medium between Platonism and cynicism. She cautions Phanias against mere sensual love and declares that she loves him

> mit diesem sanften Triebe,
> Der, Zephyrn gleich, das Herz in leichte Wellen setzt,
> Nie Sturm erregt, nie peinigt, stets ergötzt.[119]

Such a character Agathon strives to be. At first he lacks that inner harmony, that equilibrium, for he cannot attain it so long as he leads the life of a recluse in Delphi and is surrounded by a mystic and Platonic atmosphere. Neither can he become at one with himself in consequence of his contact with Hippias' materialistic and cynical doctrines, which are

116 *Ibid.*, V, 174 and VI, 284.

117 "Aristipp," Göschen, XXIII, 102.

118 "Agathon," Göschen, VI, 147. To a certain extent Clarisse, one of the heroines in "das Hexameron von Rosenhain," meets the requirements of such a character. She is an enemy of exaggeration and "Unnatur." She enjoys an indestructible inner rest, her entire nature is calm, moderate and in harmony with itself, Hempel, XIII, 102.

119 "Musarion," lines 1197 ff. (Pröhle, I, 51), lines 1152–4 (p. 49).

almost an exact parallel of Mandeville's philosophy. He finally realizes that neither idealistic Platonism nor materialistic Hippias-Mandevillism is worthy of becoming a permanent guide in life; that the truth must lie somewhere between the two extremes. He finds this truth in the happy harmony of the character of Archytas, and under the latter's influence he begins to become the Agathon that he ought to be.

And such a character Wieland actually was. He went through the same development as his Agathon, and in the career of his hero he portrays, as he himself says,[120] his own career. Wieland attains the ideal of inner equilibrium and thus he becomes a living example of the Shaftesburian doctrine he preaches.

To this effect we have above all the testimony of his contemporary and friend, Goethe. Goethe was deeply impressed by Wieland's "schönstes Naturell"[121] and recognized him as a genuine type of that equilibrium and harmony which Goethe himself considered essential to genuine wisdom. "Equanimity and activity," he says of Wieland, "were so beautifully counterbalanced in him; and so with the greatest tranquility he has exerted an infinitely great influence upon the intellectual development of our nation. I have recapitulated to myself his activity; it is highly remarkable and the only one of its kind in Germany."[122]

Further testimony to the same effect we have again from Goethe in his "Maskenzug" of 1818. Here he puts into the mouth of Musarion the following verses, which contain the essence of Wieland's philosophy of harmony:

> Warum das Leben, das Lebendige hassen?
> Beschaue nur in mildem Licht
> Das Menschenwesen, wiege zwischen Kälte
> Und Überspannung dich im Gleichgewicht.[123]

[120] Letter to Zimmermann, Jan. 5, 1762, where he speaks concerning the project of the novel. "Ausgewählte Briefe," II, 164.

[121] "Dichtung und Wahrheit," Book 7, Hempel edition, XXI, 54.

[122] Letter to C. F. V. Reinhard, Jan. 25, 1813, Weimar edition, "Briefe," XXIII, 268.

[123] Goethe's "Maskenzug" (1818), lines 270–3, Weimar edition, XVI, 266.

And Wieland's harmonious life, which is a true realization of his teaching, is summarized by Goethe as follows:

> Wieland hiesz er! Selbst durchdrungen
> Von dem Wort das er gegeben,
> War sein wohlgeführtes Leben
> Still, ein Kreis von Mäszigungen.
>
> Geistreich schaut' er und beweglich
> Immerfort auf's reine Ziel,
> Und bei ihm vernahm man täglich:
> Nicht zu wenig, nicht zu viel.[124]

[124] *Ibid.*, lines 237–44 (p. 264–5).

CHAPTER IV

Virtue, Happiness and Culture

1. *Virtue and Happiness. Vice and Misery*

The well-known Shaftesburian doctrine that virtue is self-rewarding; that happiness is its natural consequence; that vice, on the contrary, is immediately connected with misery; that by working for the welfare of others one is really promoting his own interest,—all this finds the most emphatic, clearest, and most systematic expression in his "Inquiry concerning Virtue and Merit." This main theme of Shaftesbury's "Inquiry" is very clearly reflected in Wieland's works. As early as 1756 Wieland expresses his enthusiasm for the "Inquiry," for he then recommends it as "eines der besten und scharfsinnigsten Systeme der Sitten-Lehre."[1]

Virtue, we are told, is the source of happiness, the mother of the purest pleasure. Virtue always attains the bliss destined for it, the practice of it grants us new pleasures of which we may well be proud. Virtue divinely rewards its lovers and converts earth into heaven. Happy is the man whose heart has in his early youth perceived the charm of wisdom and the power of virtue.[2] Perfection is the source of delight, and by an infallible contrivance of nature the human race keeps on approaching the ideal of perfection and the happiness arising therefrom. The enjoyment of our existence is strengthened by "everything which appears under the friendly form of the good and beautiful."[3] It is a misfortune if, out of timidity or sloth, one fails to seek his entire honor and happiness in virtue,

1 "Plan einer Akademie," in "Prosaische Schriften," III, 136.

2 "Briefe von Verstorbenen," 1 Brief, lines 119–20; 2 Brief, lines 216–18, 368–9; 3 Brief, lines 91–2 (Gruber, II). "Moralische Briefe," 9 Brief, lines 1–2 (Gruber, I).

3 "Moralische Briefe," 4 Brief, line 52. "Das Geheimnis des Kosmopoliten-Ordens" (1788), Göschen, XXX, 420. "Aristipp," Göschen, XXIV, 118.

which is the only thing that constitutes human perfection. Only then would our earth be what it ought to be if, true to the dignity of his soul, man would seek his happiness in virtue.[4] Virtue strews roses upon our pathway; and so Tifan declares that "without virtue and morals no happiness is possible."[5]

Convinced of the same truth, Timoclea desires to become through the help of Socrates "as good and beautiful as is necessary to be capable of genuine happiness." But before virtue can constitute man's highest happiness under all circumstances it must control the whole life of man and claim all his aims and efforts. Just as a deformed body cannot be beautiful, even if beautiful traits are scattered here and there, so separate pieces of virtue scattered here and there in a human life are just like splendid patches in a ragged coat. To deserve its noble name virtue must be complete.[6] In the same way Shaftesbury argues for the insufficiency of a virtue which is not thorough and absolute. Partial affections, says he, are inconstant. Partial virtue is of necessity variable, depends upon caprice and humor and passes frequently from love to hatred, from inclination to aversion. An inclination which is only casual cannot be trusted, an affection which is merely accidental and changeable cannot be depended upon. In consequence of the least compromise of virtue, it is quite possible for a person to be drawn into all kinds of villainy, such as he at first dreaded to think of.[7]

Wieland carries through Shaftesbury's distinction between "natural affections" and "self-affections." Upon analyzing the good and the bad, he says, we always find the former resolving itself into pleasure, and the latter into pain. The sensual joys attracting the deluded man are so transient and vain that they always disappoint his expectations. Such joys tire out even the most sensual person and teach him that his soul is not intended to feed upon the same material with the

4 "Timoklea," "Prosaische Schriften," III, 197, and Göschen, XXXIII, 217.

5 "Combabus" (1770), Göschen, X, 92. "Der goldne Spiegel," Göschen, VIII, 135.

6 "Timoklea," Göschen, XXXIII, 207, 209, 216–17.

7 "Characteristics," II, 110 ff.

lower animals.[8] Without moderation even the most natural desires become sources of pain; through excess the purest joy becomes a poison. Moderation is wisdom, and the wise man enjoys to the full the cup of pure delight, which nature pours for everybody. The wise man will often renounce a present pleasure because through proper abstainment his enjoyment is ultimately increased.[9] Lust and luxury are injurious. Can any one actually believe that a lustful judge can perform his duties conscientiously, or that a luxurious general can lead a successful campaign? The proud, the greedy and the cruel are loved by no one, and therefore they are the most wretched. There is no safety for any one who robs others to get it, and no one can be happy who is indifferent to the happiness or misery of others.[10] Very many physical ills are produced, nourished and aggravated by a wounded heart or an affected mind. Genuine happiness should, therefore, be sought not in the pursuit of artificial joys, but in preserving in an incorrupt state "die gröszte der Wohlthaten der Natur, die Empfindung."[11]

Like Shaftesbury, Wieland also advocates exercise and activity in order to preserve the health both of the body and soul. Activity, he says, keeps up our taste for the delights of nature and our ability to enjoy them. Nature's immutable law is that work and activity should be the condition of our happiness and the means of maintaining and sweetening our existence.[12]

While advocating the need and benefit of public or "natural affection," Shaftesbury also warns against carrying it to an excess and even emphasizes the necessity of "self-affection" in a moderate degree. Neither does Wieland fail to call attention to the same point. He recommends, for instance, meekness as one of the highest virtues, but he warns against carrying this virtue to an extreme. When carried to an extreme meekness becomes a lack of courage, a failure to know your

8 "Nachlasz des Diogenes" (1769), Hempel, XXIV, 75. "Empfindungen eines Christen" (1755), Göschen, XXVI, 224.

9 "Der goldne Spiegel," Göschen, VII, 72.

10 *Ibid.*, 89. "Danischmend," *ibid.*, IX, 90.

11 "Danischmend," p. 18. "Der goldne Spiegel," VII, 65.

12 *Ibid.*, 64, 72–3.

abilities. Humility must not exclude the consciousness of our power or the endeavor to reach a higher stage of excellence. Likewise modesty, when carried to an extreme, becomes a non-virtue, which is all the more to be censured, because it is not only injurious to ourselves but prevents us also from rendering service to others.[13]

Besides "natural affections" and "self-affections" Shaftesbury also speaks of "unnatural affections," or "such as are neither of any advantage to the species in general or the creature in particular"; such, for instance, as a delight in the distress of others, treachery, ingratitude, envy, and the like. Such vices are likewise described by Wieland as "unnatural." Whoever finds joy in the sorrows of others, or fails to enjoy the happiness of others, is a monster, an "unnatural miscreant." Faults are frequently found in excellent persons for no other reason than that these censurers are anxious to find faults and look upon them through the magnifying glass of jealousy. It has long been observed, he adds, that the inferior classes rejoice in the misfortunes of the great. The joy in the discovery of faults in others also comes from the same source, namely, envy, which is "one of the most unnatural passions"; for what does any one gain by depreciating the merits and excellences of others?[14]

The greatest stress, however, is laid upon "natural affections" and the happiness they bring. Nature, we are told, has supplied man with the requisite means of becoming healthy and happy, and it demands of us to enjoy life. The Supreme Being wishes us to be happy, and makes our happiness depend upon the harmony and moderation of our various natural bents. Joy is the supreme wish of man and is of the same importance to him as air and sunshine to plants. It must, however, be borne in mind that the richest and purest sources of joy are love and benevolence. Through multiplied sociability the sphere of man's pleasures is enlarged and his capacity to enjoy life increased. The greatest pleasure is the conscious-

13 "Sympathien," Göschen, XXIX, 46–7. "Reflexionen" (about 1800), Hempel, XXXII, 570.

14 "Der goldne Spiegel," Göschen, VII, 72. "Gedanken über eine alte Aufschrift" (1772), Hempel, XXXII, 56–7.

ness of a well-employed life.[15] Wholesome in mind and temperament, says Diogenes to his friend Bacchides, how can I fail to be happy? Is not all nature mine, in so far as I enjoy it? What a source of enjoyment lies merely in the "sympathetic feelings!"[16]

Love is the soul of life and the source of the most beautiful inspiration. When you are filled with love, joy and innocence, each one of your movements, the tone of your voice and your very speech, become musical. Love establishes a sort of immediate connection between the soul and everything that is divine.[17] God has combined with the highest pleasure the sentiments which further the great end of man's existence. With the extension of our knowledge, with the proper use of our faculties and with every virtuous deed, He has combined such a sweet and lasting joy in order that we may be encouraged in our aspiration to perfection and be brought ever nearer to it. Virtue is the health of the soul and to such an extent is it interwoven with our happiness, that even God himself is unable to render anyone happy who fails to subject himself to the divine laws.[18] In reply to the highly materialistic philosophy of Hippias, Agathon asserts that he knows pleasures which are superior to those that man has in common with animals; such pleasures as come, for instance, from promoting the welfare of others. So also at the close of his career Agathon is convinced that the more wisdom and virtue a man has, the happier he is; that wisdom and virtue are always the right measure both of public and private happiness.[19]

Wieland then arrives at the well-known Shaftesburian conclusion, namely, that public welfare and individual interest are identical. The two, he claims, are so closely interwoven with each other that it is impossible to separate one from the other without destroying both. Love is the admirable instinct ap-

15 "Moral der Natur" (1789), Hempel, XXXII, 151. "Der goldne Spiegel," Göschen, VII, 70, 45, 72.

16 "Nachlasz des Diogenes" (1769), Hempel, XXIV, 63.

17 "Der goldne Spiegel," VII, 75, VIII, 89.

18 "Koxkox and Kikequetzel" (1770), Hempel, XXXI, 22. "Timoklea," in "Prosaische Schriften," III, 197 and Göschen, XXXIII, 217.

19 "Agathon," Göschen, IV, 127 and VI, 329.

pointed by nature as the moving-spring of private and general happiness. Through love man receives the noble name of husband and father; love concentrates his sympathetic inclinations upon a wife and children, in whom his own life is rejuvenated and multiplied. No man can ever incur any injury by helping his friend, because his friend's happiness constitutes his own gain. On considering the wonderful order, in which the entire universe with the infinite number of its various parts is sustained, we come to the conception of a special purpose for every particular species, and of a general purpose for the entire system. All of nature unites her powers to sustain the existence of man, but, nevertheless, man must force nature's services from her. Without his labor and diligence the earth would soon become a wilderness to him. But how can individual men be equal to such a task? The whole species must be united in order to be able to assert its mastery over the earth; consequently, everybody finds his individual security in the perfect and happy state of the entire species.[20] Tlantlaquakapatli declares a similar truth when he says: As a result of suppressing a selfish impulse, in consequence of drying the tears of an unfortunate person or restoring joy to the distressed individual, I feel the divine flame spreading with an inexpressible rapture through my entire system, and I am convinced that no other delight is so gratifying as the delight coming from the performance of a noble deed.[21]

The man with a true interest in his fellow-men naturally abhors scenes and accounts of evil and corruption. With eagerness he seeks for scenes of peace and innocence; and if he does not find them in the historical accounts of the human race, he resorts to imaginative worlds, beautiful ideals, which, however, are real to him, since they transport him into a pleasant dream of happiness. And he is inspired with the feeling that, whenever it is a question of how long we have lived, only those moments are to be taken into consideration during which we have been wise and virtuous; only such moments as are devoted to the performance of noble deeds, to

20 "Der goldne Spiegel," VIII, 87, 21, 91–2.
21 "Koxkox und Kikequetzel," Hempel, XXXI, 22–23.

friendship, love, wise enjoyment of pure and innocent pleasures. So Psammis, the wise lawgiver, urges the following precept upon his people: "Multiply your personality by accustoming yourself to love in every man the image of your own nature. Relish as often as you can the pure divine pleasure of making others happy; and thou, unfortunate one, whose heart does not begin to swell at the mere thought of this, flee thou forever from the habitations of the children of nature!"[22]

As usual, Wieland then offers several specific instances, by which the doctrine is illustrated. Thus we are told of a certain troglodyte race nearly all of which perishes on account of selfishness and base disregard for each other's needs. The few that remain start a new epoch in the history of their people, for they begin to realize that their individual happiness becomes all the greater by considering the good fortune of others as an increase of their own, and by contributing their own to the common welfare; that in order to prosper, love and benevolence must be the dominating impulses of their souls, and that duty must at the same time be the source of their happiness.[23] Perisadeh, Danischmend's wife, feels her own happiness so closely interwoven with that of her husband and children, that their happiness is an absolute necessity to her. And the happiness of Danischmend himself depends entirely upon the purity of morals in Jemal. Danischmend can hate no man, and whenever he sees anyone committing an unworthy act, he feels just as intense a pain as if he himself committed that act. It is to such an extent that he identifies the welfare of others with his own and makes the cause of others his own cause.[24]

2. *Culture and Character. Philosophy and Life*

Although man is endowed with a moral and esthetic nature, he must, nevertheless, train his natural abilities and develop the faculties granted to him by nature; culture, therefore, is an absolute necessity. This Shaftesburian doctrine is also emphasized by Wieland. It is not sufficient, Wieland argues, to have

22 "Der goldne Spiegel," VII, 204–5, 77.
23 "Geschichte der Troglodyten" (1790), Hempel, XXXV, 267.
24 "Danischmend," Göschen, IX, 50, 145, 186.

brought with us to the world the necessary instruments by which we can distinguish between the beautiful and ugly, the right and wrong. These instruments must be polished and developed.[25] The esthetic feeling is born with us, but it remains dormant until it is gradually awakened by science and knowledge. In the state of barbarism a people lacks the enlightenment of the understanding and the development of their human faculties.[26] Wieland opposes Rousseau's attack upon culture and his advocacy of the primitive state. Such a state, Wieland declares, is very undesirable, because it can never give rise to great men such as Palladio, Raphael, Erasmus, Galileo, Corneille, Metastasio, Locke, Montesquieu, Newton, Shaftesbury. And who is so ignorant as to deny the great advantages brought by these men to whole nations and in the course of time to the whole world?[27]

In Shaftesbury's manner Wieland then declares the development of human character to be the only criterion of true culture. Only then can learning be considered beneficial when it immediately aims to render us wiser and more virtuous. This doctrine comes into evidence as early as 1753.[28] We boast nowadays, he says, of the Newtons and Leibnizes, and yet the benefit brought by modern science is very insignificant. Sciences should enlighten and warm the soul, and their failure to do so is due to our present school-methods and the condition of our universities. Ought we not to expect our youths to possess orderly hearts, fine tastes and decent manners? We should

25 "Gedanken über eine alte Aufschrift," Hempel, XXXII, 51.

26 *Teutscher Merkur,* Nov., 1779, p. 105; April, 1774, p. 104 (probably by Wieland).

27 "Beiträge zur geheimen Geschichte des menschlichen Verstandes und Herzens," II, 224.

28 In a document entitled: "Plan einer neuen Art von Privat-Unterweisung," printed by L. Hirzel in *Schnorrs Archiv für Literaturgeschichte,* XI, 378–84. The document is here dated Feb. 12, 1754; but B. Seuffert reports of an older separate print dating from the year 1753. After Haller's return to Bern (March, 1753), the first print was sent to Haller and others. The anonymity which Wieland wished to keep at first had to be given up in April, 1753, since Heidegger, the burgomaster of Zürich, had then divined the author of the "Plan." See Wieland's letter to Zimmermann, Feb. 20, 1759: "Ausgewählte Briefe," I, 337; and *Schnorrs Archiv,* XI, 377, 384–5.

expect our youths to have acquired a fine taste for the good and beautiful, which to the great discredit of our present morals we miss very much. Our youths should have a predilection for order and public welfare. The notions of the good and true are perfectly natural to man, and he has in himself the seeds of all virtues. These seeds, however, are to be developed by a wise connoisseur of the human soul by means of questions, intercourse, conversation and the like. "In the case of every truth taught, I shall show that it is practical or of moral use." Among the best subjects to be taught Wieland considers the science of harmony and fine arts. In this science he purposes to teach the art of properly harmonizing the lower spiritual faculties (*untere Seelenkräfte*), the art of bringing the imagination into order. In the same science he also aims to develop the sentiments of the good and beautiful. The youths, he continues, must be taught to feel virtue as pleasant and vice as unpleasant. They must be taught to distinguish properly between the good and the bad by means of the mere taste; and before their reason reaches its maturity, their natural proclivities must be placed in the proper relation to whatever things are to be loved or hated. These are the tasks to be accomplished by a system of education; in fact, this is the only system of education which deserves its name as such.[29]

Three years later Wieland emphasizes the same thought in his "Plan einer Akademie zu Bildung des Verstandes und Herzens junger Leute."[30] Here he extols the Greek system of education for the reason that it meets the requisites of proper education. The object of the Greeks, says Wieland, was to train their young citizens in what they called *kalokagathia,* a word by which they understood all the qualities and perfections enabling man to play a noble part in life. To accomplish this purpose, which is alone worthy of human nature, the Greek youths were inspired as early as possible with the taste for the good and beautiful. It is from this point of view that they were taught Homer and the other poets who were both

[29] "Herrn Wieland's Plan von einer neuen Art von Privat-Unterweisung," *Schnorrs Archiv,* XI, 378 ff.

[30] The genesis of the work is discussed at length by Heinrich Funck: "Beiträge zur Wieland-Biographie," p. 5 ff.

the teachers and philosophers of the Greeks. When the youths grew older, they were placed in company and under guidance of wise men, and from associating with these men they learned what is noble or ignoble, just or unjust, wise or foolish, what duties are required of us by religion, human society and the particular state in which we live. To moral and social philosophy the fine arts, elocution especially, were added. In brief the Greeks required of a noble and well-bred youth to become a *kalos kai agathos* or "a virtuoso, as the most ingenious and finest of all modern authors, Shaftesbury, expresses it." While a great general or speaker was not common even among the Greeks, *virtuosi* were not rare among them, since virtuososhiip was the result of their education. Just as a good taste, *sensus communis,*[31] noble sentiments and fine manners, were the natural results of the education of the ancients, so pedantry, rusticity and "learned stupidity" are the regular fruits of our present system of education. Whereas the Greek system was practical, our system separates the head from the heart. It is, therefore, not a matter of surprise that a Greek youth at sixteen usually excelled in dexterity and in virtue, while among us the majority of students are at sixteen only children in understanding and barbarians in taste and manner of life.[32]

On this general basis Wieland then outlines a somewhat more specific plan, which from beginning to end reminds us of Shaftesbury. It is above all necessary, he claims, that teachers should not be pedants and that the youths should be taught only those subjects by which they may become intelligent, ingenious, noble-minded and virtuous. It should be emphasized that all important truths were given to us in order to influence our lives with the view of making them more virtuous and happier. The authors especially recommended for reading are Euripides, Homer, Xenophon, Isocrates, Cicero, Horace, Tacitus, Demosthenes, Caesar, Virgil, Pliny. Among the books especially recommended for study is "Shaftesbury's treatise on virtue as one of the best and most clear-sighted systems of morality." That the young men may be inspired with good

[31] Note the use of the Shaftesburian term.

[32] "Plan einer Akademie," in "Prosaische Schriften," 102–4, 111–12,

taste, their attention should be called to all the material and spiritual beauties of nature. It should be pointed out to them that every creature has a special purpose for which it is constituted in a certain way; that the beauty and perfection of each creature arise from harmony with its purpose, and that its welfare is closely connected with the purpose for which it is intended; that everything is joined to everything else; that for this reason there is admirable order in the universe. In such a way the young man learns the basis of beauty in art and acquires a philosophic knowledge of nature. Such an instruction by a skillful teacher becomes at once a system of morality and religion, a system intended, to be sure, more for the heart than for speculation, but for this very reason all the more profitable. Fables, accounts of virtuous acts, moral pictures of manners and characters, are best fitted to develop and to sharpen the students' moral sense. The teacher himself should possess a well-developed moral sense. He must refrain from dry treatises and abstract investigations. He should employ the Aesopic and Socratic systems, which procure for truth the easiest access to our souls.[33]

This Shaftesburian doctrine is further elaborated in "Der goldne Spiegel" (1772), which established Wieland's reputation as an educator and was also the occasion of his call to Weimar as tutor of the princes.[34] Here, for instance, the education of the Scheschian prince Azor is directed entirely with a view of cultivating his wit and refining his taste. He is, therefore, taught only those arts the value of which consists of serving as ornaments of more essential perfections. Education, Wieland declares further on, is "die wahre Schöpferin der Sitten," for its purpose is to develop our esthetic feeling and to train us in order and virtue. Education should be a matter of great importance to the state, for if education be brought into good condition, everything else will take care of itself. We must not, to be sure, despise the studies which have no immediate tendency to make us wiser and better, but of such

[33] "Plan einer Akademie," III, 125, 128, 134–6, 140–2.

[34] Wieland's call to Weimar is discussed in detail by B. Seuffert in the *Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturgeschichte* (edited by Seuffert), 1888, I, 342–435: "Wielands Berufung nach Weimar."

studies very little should be taught. Inasmuch as a cultivated sense of beauty and goodness is an essential element of wisdom, special attention should be paid to the development of a fine taste. The school must have a close connection with ordinary daily life. The chief aim of education is to train everybody in the virtues of social and political life.[35]

And from exactly the same point of view Wieland treats philosophy. As to Shaftesbury, so to him, philosophy is worthless unless applied to practical life. In fact, philosophy is referred to as the "Kunst zu leben."[36] Like Shaftesbury, he also opposes pedantry and scholasticism. No man, he declares, is wise unless he fulfills the purpose for which he is intended. Men, however, frequently miss their purpose. Thus a poetic genius destined to be a Pindar becomes an Anacreon; and a man intended to be a real teacher of young people and to cure their moral defects becomes a mere pedant and stoops to "scholastic subtleties and to squabbles over problems settled long ago."[37] The close connection between philosophy and daily life is emphasized again and again. Present philosophers, he declares, merely point out to us that our thoughts and acts are wrong and that our mode of living should be different from what it is. By doing this they merely convince the sick man of his sickness; the important point, however, is to restore his health.[38] Their sphere of activity is confined to very narrow limits. But the business of philosophers is to fight against abuses of a "von der Natur abgelerntes Verfahren," to contend for truth and worldly wisdom.[39]

Like Shaftesbury, Wieland finds this ideal realized among the Greeks. The instruction of the youths, says Wieland, in the duties of religion, state and society was called by the Greeks philosophy and was considered as the most essential part of the system of education. Philosophy, he continues, was with the Greeks not a matter of speculation but of bringing up vir-

35 "Der goldne Spiegel," VII, 109; VIII, 215, 226, 216.

36 "Ciceros sämmtliche Briefe, übersetzt und erläutert von Wieland," V (Zürich, 1812), p. 137.

37 "Sympathien," Göschen, XXIX, 50–2.

38 "Nachlasz des Diogenes," Hempel, XXIV, 119.

39 "Agathodämon," *ibid.*, XXIII, 207, 47, 36.

tuous citizens for the state; it was considered a study necessary for everybody, since everybody had notions to be cleared up, proclivities to be directed to the best purpose, faults to be mended and virtues to be enhanced. Philosophy was so practical that the training in citizenship and statesmanship was attended to by philosophical societies. These societies had certain mental exercises, by which young men were accustomed to the most necessary virtues, such as moderation, patience, contempt of pain, love of work and the like.[40]

This attitude to philosophy may perhaps be ascribed not only to Shaftesbury's influence but to the joint influence of Shaftesbury and Socrates, who also made philosophy a matter of daily life and, with whom, as we have mentioned, Wieland became acquainted very early.[41] Socrates was certainly neither a pedant nor a solitary speculator nor a teacher that instructs *ex cathedra*. He did not even commit anything to writing, and what we know of his philosophy we gather from Plato's dialogues and Xenophon's remininscences. His philosophy was always unfolded in the course of a conversation which he was ever ready to begin with anybody that was inclined to it. Thus he introduced philosophy into the most common affairs of daily life; for any matter coming from daily observation or daily occupation gave him a subject for some philosophical discussion.

3. *The Virtuoso*

Wieland, as we have seen above, blended the Shaftesburian "virtuoso" with the Greek ideal of *kalokagathia*. It is, therefore, necessary to see what conception Wieland had of the Greek ideal. By the word *kalokagathia*, he says, the Greeks understood all perfections which distinguish a free and noble man from a slave and a man-like animal, all the qualities which enable one to play a noble part in life.[42] The usual meaning

[40] "Plan einer Akademie," III, 104–5.

[41] As early as 1752 he is impressed by the fact that

> Die Weisheit, die vor ihm die Himmel nur durchspürt,
> Hat Sokrates zuerst zur Erden abgeführt.
>
> "Moralische Briefe," 9 Brief, lines 147–8, Gruber, I, 301.

[42] "Plan einer Akademie," III, 102.

of a *kaloskagathos,* as used in Athens, corresponded in general to what they call in England a *gentleman* and what they called in France under Louis XIV a *galant-homme* and later a *honnête-homme.*[43] Often the word signified nothing more than a person of prominent birth and education. In its moral meaning of "schöngut" or "gutedel," he adds, it seems first to have been taken from Socrates.[44] It came to designate a person who united in himself the good and the beautiful; a man with inner beauty and goodness, by which he is rendered amiable, noble-minded, benevolent and happy; an individual possessing all physical and spiritual excellences.[45]

It may be questioned whether all this covers exactly the same concept as is embraced by Shaftesbury's "virtuoso." Lessing objects very strongly to Wieland's identification of the two ideals. Lessing insists that with the Greeks *kaloskagathos* was no more than what we now call a "hübscher, guter, Mann"; that the Greek ideal has no connection whatever with Shaftesbury's "virtuoso"; that by trying to combine the two Wieland is "throwing dust into his readers' eyes."[46] Herder agrees neither with Lessing nor with Wieland. The Greek *kaloskagathos,* he claims, is much more than a "guter, hübscher Mann," as Lessing thinks, but much less than a Shaftesburian "virtuoso," as Wieland would have it. The Greeks, says Herder, taught their sons everything that cultivated the understanding and developed a fine taste and strong body. An Athenian *kaloskagathos,* while being neither of the three, possessed the ability of becoming a sage, poet and Olympic victor. The *kaloikagathoi,* however, Herder declares. in accordance with Shaftesbury's broad conception, never existed in Athens.[47]

The Shaftesburian ideal is, as we have mentioned above, the

43 "Sokratische Gespräche," *Attisches Museum,* III[1], 146.

44 "Aristipp," Göschen, XXIV, 292.

45 "Theages," Göschen, XXXIII, 414. "Die Abderiten," *ibid.,* XIII, 14. *Teutscher Merkur,* Feb., 1777, p. 132. "Der neue Amadis," Göschen, XV, 306.

46 "Briefe die neueste Litteratur betreffend," 10 Literaturbrief, Lachmann-Muncker edition, VIII, 22.

47 "Fragmente zur deutschen Litteratur," 2 Sammlung, Suphan edition, I, 303 ff.

culmination of his moral-esthetic philosophy. Wieland himself considers the virtuoso-ideal as pervading all of Shaftesbury's philosophy, as something "que Shaftesbury peint si admirablement dans tous ses écrits."[48] He defines Shaftesbury's "virtuoso" as "a man reared by the Muses and Graces; a lover of nature and art; one who is acquainted with the masterpieces of human wit and diligence; who esteems every talent; who has studied the world, the character, constitutions, laws, manners, religion, arts and inventions of the various peoples; who knows in all this what is right and beautiful."[49] This definition corresponds almost entirely to Shaftesbury's own definition, which is found in the first chapter of the third Miscellany and to which Wieland refers in a foot-note. On another occasion we are referred to the virtuosi as men striving after the beautiful, and we are told that virtuososhipp consists of a fine instinctive skill to avoid the two extremities of defect and excess.[50]

Cicero is spoken of as a man who, on account of the wealth of his natural gifts and the "greatness of his virtuososhipp," holds one of the highest positions among the heroes of mankind.[51] And Danischmend defends the *virtuosi* against the attack of the hypocritical "Kalender." In a cynical tone the latter speaks of the *virtuosi* as enthusiasts of virtue who do no evil because they are inactive; who have fine sentiments and beautiful and lofty ideas of virtue, but can never have these ideas realized. In reply to the cynic, Danischmend asserts that at any rate the *virtuosi* preserve the ideals of the good and beautiful and perform an immense service thereby.[52]

Wieland then wishes to make Aedon, the hero of the sixth *Sympathie,* "zu einem gröszeren Virtuoso." He tells him to travel through the whole realm of beauty and to convince himself that there are higher beauties than rosy cheeks and white breasts; that there are higher joys than those coming from the lips of girls and from bubbling glasses; that virtue, wisdom and

[48] Letter to Zimmermann, March 12, 1758, "Ausgewählte Briefe," I, 259.
[49] "Plan einer Akademie," III, 112.
[50] "Horazens Briefe übersetzt" (1782), I, 295–6.
[51] "Ciceros sämmtliche Briefe übersetzt und erläutert," I (1808), Preface, p. xiii.
[52] "Danischmend," Göschen, IX, 70, 74.

innocence deserve our highest admiration and love.[53] He speaks in lofty terms of the character of La Roche, mentioning among his other qualities a knowledge of everything "was unser Shaftesbury zu seinem Virtuosen fordert."[54] And Nicias is introduced to us as a "Virtuoso nach den Begriffen unseres Shaftesbury." Nicias is a fine connoisseur of the beauty of nature and art. By means of the most perfect models Italy has cultivated his taste for music, painting and architecture; and owing to all this he esteems poetic art all the more.[55] Finally, Wieland himself, as he reports in 1758, "loves all perfections, esteems all arts, loves human nature, and aspires to the character of the virtuoso, which Shaftesbury portrays so admirably in all his writing." He is as yet, he tells us, far behind this kind of character, but he, nevertheless, strives to attain it.[56]

53 "Sympathien," Göschen, XXIX, 24–5.
54 Letter to Geszner, "Auswahl denkwürdiger Briefe," I, 94.
55 "Theages," Göschen, XXXIII, 222.
56 To Zimmermann, March 12, 1758, "Ausgewählte Briefe," I, 259.

CHAPTER V

Wit and Humor

1. *The Gloomy and the Cheerful. Good Humor and Raillery. Enthusiasm and Fanaticism*

By *freedom of wit and humor* Shaftesbury means, as we have seen, complete freedom in investigating and perfect familiarity in treating even the most serious matters, questions of divinity not excepted. He employs the doctrine as a sort of antidote to exaggerated solemnity, unnecessary gravity and extravagant sobriety. In his capacity as a cheerful philosopher Shaftesbury fights against all these faults and very strongly urges jest, mirth and a good-humored view of things in general. So much for the doctrine in general, which has been somewhat elaborated above. But before Wieland's attitude to the Shaftesburian doctrine can be fully determined, it is necessary to explain Shaftesbury's manner of using the individual terms "wit and humor." He never intends to let the terms stand each for a specific notion. On the contrary, he uses the expression "wit and humor" as a whole for a certain concept, which becomes clear enough from the context. Without any intervening explanation Shaftesbury somehow shifts from "wit and humor" to the notion of raillery, which is described now as a "species of wit,"[1] now as a "kind of humor."[2] "Raillery" then becomes a close companion of "wit and humor." Thus, we are told that "wit can never have its liberty where the freedom of raillery is taken away," and that the Epicurean and other sects in Greece were allowed to use "the force of wit and raillery" against superstition.[3] It is this immediate transition from "wit and humor" to "raillery" which removes from the

[1] "Characteristics," I, 62.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, 61.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, 19 and 18.

latter the notion of mere ridicule and attaches to it the idea of jest, familiarity and good humor.[4]

Coming to Wieland, we find first of all frequent occurrence of the Shaftesburian terms. On several occasions the terms are used in the English original. He demands for the poet "so viel freedom of Wit and Humor" as is consistent with the laws of propriety.[5] Quoting the introductory part of a letter received from one of his readers, Wieland remarks that the author of the letter intended to convey at the very outset an excellent impression "von seinem belletristischen Wit and Humor."[6] And on another occasion he compliments Johann Heinrich Merck on being "ein Mann von Wit and Humor."[7] The expression "Witz und Laune" occurs a great number of times, apparently in the Shaftesburian sense of "wit and humor" or "raillery and humor." The Athenians are spoken of as being especially susceptible to "Witz und Laune." Krates, we are told, is admitted by all to be a man of ingenuity, a man "voll Witz und guter Laune und äuszerst angenehm im Umgang." Lucian is referred to as an author combining in himself genius, good taste, elegance, "Witz und Laune."[8] Lais is said to excel in the vivacity and multiformity "des Witzes und der Laune." In the philosophical gatherings of Athens

[4] This appears very clearly especially from the following passage: We should be considered very "morose and ill-humored, if instead of treating the matter in *raillery* we should think of revenging ourselves on the offending parties who out of their rustic ignorance, ill-judgment or incredulity had detracted from our renown" (I, 37).

[5] Quoted by J. Steinberger: "Lucians Einflusz auf Wieland," Göttingen, 1902, p. 139. Steinberger refers to the *Morgenblatt* for 1828, p. 497.

[6] *Teutscher Merkur,* June, 1776, p. 282.

[7] Letter to Merck, Apr. 16, 1780: Karl Wagner: "Briefe an J. H. Merck von Goethe, Herder, Wieland und anderen bedeutenden Zeitgenossen," Darmstadt, 1835, p. 235. In another letter, Aug. 29, 1781, Wieland asks Merck to contribute to the *Merkur* whatever he pleases, "es sei Wit oder Humor," *ibid.,* p. 306.

[8] *Attisches Museum,* II[1], p. vii. "Krates und Hipparchia," Letter XIII, Hempel, X, 109. "Lucians Lebensmittel, Character und Schriften" (1788), Hempel, XXXVII, 357. The phrase "Witz und Laune" occurs in many other instances, of which the following may be referred to: K. Wagner: "Briefe an Merk," etc., p. 307; "Ciceros Briefe übersetzt," I, 299; "Horazens Satiren übersetzt," II, 6 and 112; *Schnorrs Archiv,* XIII, 505; Göschen, XXIII, 193; XXXIII, 288; Hempel, XXXIII, 121; XXXVI, 175; XXXVII, 225, 365, 201; XXXII, 228.

Socrates is the animating spirit on account of his "treffender Witz und muntere Laune."[9] So Shaftesbury declares that "raillery and humor are the only thing which makes good company."[10] In the sense of "raillery" Wieland uses not only the term "Spott" but also "Witz." This is especially evident from a passage in "Der goldne Spiegel," where we are told that *Witz* is something "dessen wichtigster Gebrauch ist, alles, was in den Meinungen, Leidenschaften und Handlungen der Menschen mit der gesunden Vernunft und dem allgemeinen Gefühl des Wahren und Schönen einen Miszlaut macht, das ist, alles, was ungereimt ist, als belachenswürdig darzustellen."[11]

As early as Oct. 18, 1756, Wieland expresses his admiration for Shaftesbury's cheerful and serene view of life. "Hat Sie nicht eben Shaftesbury überzeugt," he writes to Zimmermann, "dasz wir alle schwermütige, traurige, finstere Betrachtungen, alle dunkle Empfindungen wie unsre ärgsten Feinde bestreiten sollen? Ohne Zweifel hat er Sie es gelehrt!" We must, he continues, be conscious of our faculties before we can act with courage. We must have cheerful thoughts in order to be successful. We must examine the human race from the better side in order to be favorably inclined to it, and in order to love God we must represent Him to ourselves as good. Many of the moralists, he continues, transgress against these rules. They do not realize that self-contempt, doubt, fear, melancholy, poison our souls, and that all things are to be looked at from the brightest and serenest side.[12] Wieland remains a life-long advocate of this cheerfulness and good humor. Like Shaftesbury, he contends against the notion of making virtue unduly solemn and objects to conceiving of it as opposed to joy. "What claims can we lay to happiness if we despise nature and consider virtue as a destroyer of joy?" This latter notion is held by the tyrant Dionysius, in whose court Agathon spends some time. Dionysius entertains "the wrong but very common prejudice that virtue must be a professed enemy of all the gods of joy."[13]

[9] "Aristipp," Göschen, XXII, 106, 185.

[10] "Characteristics," I, 76.

[11] "Der goldne Spiegel," VII, 181.

[12] "Ausgewählte Briefe," I, 223–4.

[13] "Gesicht von einer Welt unschuldiger Menschen" (1755), Göschen, XXIX, 87. "Agathon," Göschen, VI, 47.

"I do not confound wisdom with austerity," Wieland writes March 12, 1758, "I am not grateful to those authors who wish us to love a virtue as ugly and disgusting as they represent it to us."[14] Virtue, he insists, makes pleasure and joy a duty to us. "A cheerful heart and a rose-colored or sky-blue fancy" are indispensable in many activities if they are to prosper.[15]

Among the excellences, therefore, enabling the Scheschian priests to become worthy teachers of their nation is their constant cheerfulness. Out of Psyche's earnest features there smiles forth a "sanfte Heiterkeit."[16] So Clarisse is sedate without being melancholy, earnest but not gloomy. General benevolence seems to be the very element in which she breathes. Cheer and good humor are always diffused over her lovely face and present the same appearance as sunshine upon a charming valley. And Musarion's element is "heitre sanfte Freude." All things appear to her in a "rosy light"; she combines earnest thought with playful jest.[17] Only in a playful attitude the muses offer the best instruction.[18] All human beings are born with more or less proclivity for the wonderful. The history of nations begins with speaking animals and theophanies. Gods and demigods, genii and fairies, giants and dwarfs, play a prominent part in the earliest histories of nations. Each has its supply of stories, its mythology, which is strongly intertwined with its history, religion, moral and social constitution. Because the cheerful and good-humored way of presenting morality gives the best results, fables were the first method of teaching, allegory the earliest veil of philosophy, fairy-tales the material of the oldest and greatest poets. Kamchadales, Persians, Greeks and Icelanders all agree on this point.[19] It is for the same reason that Virgil and Homer are more than merely amusing poets, for while entertaining, Homer teaches more practical philosophy than Chrysippus and Kran-

14 To Zimmermann, "Ausgewählte Briefe," I, 260.

15 "Combabus," Göschen, X, 92. "Danischmend," IX, 18.

16 "Der goldne Spiegel," VIII, 208. "Agathon," V, 27.

17 "Das Hexameron von Rosenhain," Hempel, XIII, 102. "Musarion," lines 1150–1, 1406, Pröhle, I, 49 and 56.

18 "Idris und Zenide" (1768), 1st Canto, 6th Stanza, Hempel, XVI, 8.

19 "Aristipp," Göschen, XXIII, 124. "Dschinnistan" (Winterthur, 1786–9), preface, I, p. iii–iv.

tor.[20] And so Aesop is referred to as "der gröszte Philosoph und Sittendichter."[21]

The playful presentation of truth and wisdom becomes a very essential part of Wieland's philosophy. In spite of their wisdom and honesty the members of Schach-Gebal's divan fail to exert a sufficient influence on him on account of their lack of cheer, their inability to jest and "to give to wisdom a laughing appearance."[22] Wieland speaks of the large number of "poor and mediocre moralizing books which, under promising titles, oppress the world with commonplace observations and perverse thoughts of their tedious authors." Of much greater advantage to the common welfare are comical novels like "Gil Blas" or "Gargantua and Pantagruel." Much to be preferred are the books in which "truth is told with a laugh," which are the more successful in their instruction, the more they merely seem to entertain the reader. Even if such books did nothing else than to serve as recreation to busy persons in their hours of leisure, or give harmless occupation to idle persons; even if they accomplished nothing else than entertaining the good humor of a people, they would still be a thousand times more useful than that "moral straw thrashed out long ago," that "methodical mishmash of missshapen and variegated ideas," which may do more harm than good.[23] It is for this reason that he attaches special importance to making his "Beiträge zur geheimen Geschichte des menschlichen Verstandes und Herzens" not a gloomy but cheerful work. He prefers, as he says in the foreword, to be accused by "feeble-minded critics" of not having a serious purpose rather than to pose as a philosopher and to put the reader to sleep by a monotonous and didactic tone.[24]

Finally, we have a lengthy glorification of joy and good humor, which in every respect reminds one of Shaftesbury. A wise man, we read, is by no means a hater of joy. What better

[20] "Über das Verhältnis des Angenehmen und Nützlichen zum Schönen," Hempel, XXXII, 35.

[21] *Teutscher Merkur,* Feb., 1782, p. 99.

[22] "Der goldne Spiegel," VII, 10.

[23] "Don Sylvio von Rosalva" (1764), Part II, Göschen, II, 5–6.

[24] "Beiträge," etc., Leipzig, 1770, I, 10.

thing than joy have the gods granted us? The life they have given us would certainly have been a very insignificant gift if they had not intended us to enjoy it. Wisdom and virtue constitute the surest way to joy, and joy is the best manner of partaking of wisdom and virtue. When the authorities of a state have succeeded in promoting art and industry, in securing peace and safety for their people,—what else have they done than to place their people in a cheerful attitude? Without joy mankind would be very unfortunate. Whoever objects to worship of this beneficent goddess is a rascal. The best advice that can be given to a ruler is to place his people in a condition of good humor. Short-sighted persons, however, fail to realize the importance of such a condition. A cheerful people suffers much less and performs its duties much more willingly than a gloomy people. The former, therefore, is much more easily governed. Political and religious fanaticism have no access to a people which is susceptible to mirth and jest. Whenever troublesome whims arise they can be "jested away" by those possessing the gift of humor. On the contrary when similar whims arise among a melancholy people they lead to fatal disturbances. It is certainly a bad sign when virtue assumes an unduly sober and grave appearance; such a state of affairs leads to stupidity and barbarism. "Virtue, which is itself the mother of the best joys, is consistent with every blameless pleasure." Take away cheer and good humor and you may as well take life itself. Pericles, Socrates, and the other wisest and best Athenians used to gather in the home of the beautiful Aspasia and there they discussed important matters in a cheerful tone which drove away tediousness and monotony. Unimportant matters became interesting through "wit and humor" (Wieland unquestionably here uses the expression *Witz und Laune* in the Shaftesburian meaning of "wit and humor"). The finest thoughts were uttered and the wisest plans arranged in these gatherings, which had for their apparent purpose nothing but recreation and amusement. Here philosophy learned from the Graces the art of jesting, here expression was given to ideas worthy to be written by Xenophon; and this was kept up until the Muses, disguised as

lovely maidens, closed the gathering with song and dance. Do you suppose that Athens would have been in a better condition, if the beautiful Aspasia and her maidens had been sent away and if men like Socrates and Pericles had been compelled to spend their evenings in a more serious fashion?[25]

In close resemblance to Shaftesbury, Wieland then argues in favor of unlimited exercise of reason, perfect liberty of investigation and freedom of raillery. The freedom of authors and philosophers, he writes to Zimmermann Nov. 8, 1758, must be unlimited, provided they do not disturb the universally accepted principles of religion and morality. "Die Wahrheit, sagt unser Shaftesbury, gewinnt durch die Untersuchung, durch den Zweifel und selbst durch den Scherz. She may bear all lights."[26] Nothing in the world, however holy it may be, should be withdrawn from the tribunal of reason; everything must be investigated and tested. All follies from which the human mind suffers should be subjected to raillery. Even insignificant follies are often sources of the greatest evils. Hence no folly, however insignificant or innocent it may appear, is to be exempt from raillery (*Spott*), "which is almost the only efficacious preservative against its injurious influence."[27]

The limitation of the full exercise of reason and of the freedom of raillery (*Witz*), Wieland argues, is bound to have fatal consequences. Such limitation tends to perpetuate ignorance and folly and subjects the nation to the danger of falling back into that state of barbarism which puts man on a par with the lower animals. How shall we draw the line of demarcation limiting the free exercise of reason? What rules should be laid down and who is to determine whether these rules are observed or violated?—So Shaftesbury asks the same question: "But who shall be judge of what may be freely examined, and what not? What remedy shall we prescribe to this in general? (I, 10)—And how can we think, Wieland continues, without investigating and investigate without doubting? If this free

25 "Nachlasz des Diogenes," Hempel, XXIV, 75–80.

26 "Ausgewählte Briefe," I, 310. The special words of Shaftesbury quoted here occur in the "Characteristics," I, 61.

27 "Gebrauch der Vernunft in Glaubenssachen," Hempel, XXXII, 336. "Peregrinus Proteus," Hempel, XXI, 27.

exercise of reason is prevented from being applied to all objects, certain doubts and investigations will always be forbidden by rulers in case they find these doubts and investigations disadvantageous to their interest. The same is also true of raillery (*Witz*). Every limitation of the use of raillery gives license to folly. Check the free course of reason and raillery, and as inevitable consequences you will have stupidity, superstition, fanaticism, tyranny, mental darkness, corruption, rudeness and general barbarism.[28]

It is true that the free exercise of reason and raillery and humor (*der Vernunft, des Witzes und der Laune*) is abused by some and is employed to place virtue in a false light and to impede the cause of truth. These evils, however, are rare, incidental, and very insignificant in comparison with the evils coming in consequence of the limitation of the exercise of reason and raillery.[29] In fact, the majority of moralists and theologians have done more harm to virtue and to Christianity than the whole crowd of railleurs and sceptics. The safest proposition, therefore, is to overlook occasional excesses that are likely to come from this freedom rather than to be deprived by a stern regulation of "the noblest prerogative of mankind."[30] All sensible persons have recognized as undeniable "the good effect of fine ridicule employed at the proper time and in the proper place, of irony, and of that which is called *das Licht des Lächerlichen* by Shaftesbury, whom the D.D.'s and M.A.'s among his fellow-countrymen are so fond of misunderstanding."[31]

But just as we saw Shaftesbury distinguishing sharply between true and false raillery, between proper jest and mere buffoonery, so we also find Wieland doing exactly the same thing. Just as Shaftesbury declares that "no one of the least justness of thought can endure a ridicule wrong placed," that "the vulgar, indeed, may swallow any sordid jest, any mere drollery or buffoonery," that "it must be a finer and truer wit

28 "Der goldne Spiegel," VII, 179–181.
29 *Ibid.*, p. 182.
30 "Sympathien," Göschen, XXIX, 58. "Der goldne Spiegel," VII, 184.
31 "Horazens Satiren übersetzt," 1786 (Leipzig, 1819, in 2 parts), I, 302.

which takes with men of sense and breeding" (I, 11); so Wieland expresses the same sentiment:

> Witz ohne Geist ist ein vergoldeter Narr.
> Nur die Vernunft, die Richterin der Dinge,
> Weisz Witz und Schönheit weislich zu gebrauchen,
> Zum äuszern Schmuck der Wahrheit und der Güte.
> Der falsche Witz begnügt sich, wenn wir lachen;
> Wir lachen auch, doch über ihn allein.
> Er will bewundert sein, nicht nützen,
> Und bei noch gröszeren Thoren als er selbst
> Gelingt es ihm.[32]

He wants the abuse of raillery (*Witz*) to cease and urges the proper use of it. It must be a servant of truth, otherwise it is "a devil disguised as an angel."[33] He hates the kind of *Witz* which undermines virtue and thereby becomes *Aberwitz*.[34] Some people, he says, employ this false raillery, for they make it perfectly clear that the main object of their ridicule is to attack virtue itself. On the other hand, whenever the wise Kador ridicules the fanatic, deceiver or self-deceived person, he does it in a manner which to people of sound judgment leaves no doubt as to his good intentions and his adherence to truth and virtue.[35] Wieland also objects to stern and harsh raillery. He praises the authors of the weekly journal, *Die Welt,* on account of their gift of entertaining while instructing and their ability to chastise and ridicule without giving offence.[36] And he asks Bodmer to be more sparing of Lessing, not because Lessing does not deserve the chastising rod, but because the purpose aimed at by censure is attained, not so much by the magisterial tone as by "die Shaftesburische Manier, fein und kaltsinnig zu spotten."[37]

On the basis of the distinction between the gloomy and melancholy, on one hand, and the cheerful and good-humored on the other, Wieland distinguishes together with Shaftesbury

[32] "Erinnerungen an eine Freundin," Göschen, XXVI, 286.
[33] "Sympathien," Göschen, XXIX, 61 and 25.
[34] Letter to Schinz, June, 1752. "Ausgewählte Briefe," I, 91.
[35] "Der goldne Spiegel," VIII, 17.
[36] *Teutscher Merkur,* June, 1780, p. 293.
[37] Letter to Bodmer, Jan. 30, 1760, "Ausgewählte Briefe," II, 119.

two kinds of enthusiasm, a false or gloomy enthusiasm and a true or cheerful one, mere fanaticism and divine inspiration. Political fanaticism and religious fanaticism, he says, are monsters capable of producing the most terrible catastrophes.[38] On the other hand, there is a sort of inspiration wherein the contemplation of the beautiful, perfect and divine seizes the soul, lifts it above all earthly and physical elements, transports and enraptures it.[39] When the love of virtue takes possession of all our proclivities, when the desire of the soul to model itself after the divine ideal of moral beauty becomes a real passion, then the soul may justly be said to be possessed by a deity; and what test is too hard, what sacrifice too great, for this enthusiasm of virtue?[40] Virtue is the "supreme height of the human soul, love, God in us." There is a kind of love "which Shaftesbury with perfect right construes as a sort of enthusiasm."[41] Here, of course, Wieland refers to Shaftesbury's doctrine that virtue is an enthusiasm for the good and the beautiful.

Finally, we have a somewhat elaborate discussion of the difference between fanaticism and enthusiasm, a discussion which from beginning to end reminds us of Shaftesbury. A very clear distinction, says Wieland, must be drawn between *Schwärmerei* on one hand and *Enthusiasmus* on the other. *Schwärmerei* is a passion caused by objects which either do not at all exist in nature, or at least are not such as they appear to the intoxicated mind. This, he says, is fanaticism. And now Wieland illustrates the point by exactly the same example which is used by Shaftesbury in his discussion of fanaticism and enthusiasm. "So far indeed," says Shaftesbury, "the innocent kind of enthusiasm extends itself that when the party is struck by the apparition there follows always an itch of imparting it and kindling the same fire in other breasts. For thus poets are fanatics too. And thus Horace either is or feigns himself lymphatic and shows what an effect the Nymphs

38 "Nachlasz des Diogenes," Hempel, XXIV, 77.
39 "Gespräche in Elysium" (about 1790), Göschen, XXVII, 408.
40 "Agathon," Göschen, VI, 189.
41 "Liebe um Liebe" (1776), Göschen, X, 161. "Agathon," IV, 206.

and Bacchus had on him," (I, 51). Shaftesbury then quotes the Horatian verses (Od. 19, lib. 2):

> Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus
> Vidi docentem, credite posteri,
> Nymphasque discentes, etc.

The same example is used by Wieland to illustrate his definition of *Schwärmerei:* "So schwärmt, z. E. Horaz, wenn ihn Bacchus, von dessen Gottheit er voll ist, in unbekannte Hayne und Felsenhöhen fortreiszt." But, Wieland continues, there is also an excitement of the soul which is the effect of immediate contemplation of the good and beautiful, of the perfect and divine both in the outside world and in human nature. Such a condition of the soul is to be classed as enthusiasm. That which stirs our souls so passionately is a divine touch. This passionate love of the true, good and beautiful is nothing less than divine inspiration; it is *God in us.* Men who have never experienced this enthusiasm are gloomy, confused and inactive, while those that are always inspired with enthusiasm are ever cheerful, full of life, courage and power, attractive and instrumental in everything that is good and noble. The enthusiast, to be sure, frequently becomes a fanatic; nevertheless, this cannot prevent us from drawing a sharp line of distinction between the two. The enthusiast is inspired by God, the fanatic by a fetich. Fanaticism is a fever, a disease of the soul; but enthusiasm is its genuine life. Enthusiasm is the best, noblest and most amiable thing which a mortal is capable of possessing.[42]

This constitutes Wieland's supplementary remarks to an extract from a lecture on fanaticism published in the *Merkur.*[43] Wieland praises the author of this work, finds in it much that is good and true, but he also accuses the author of a somewhat desultory treatment of the subject. Then he adds the following significant remark, which is given here in substance: The subject is by no means as yet exhausted, but one must plunge deeper into it if he wishes to say something new about it, or

[42] *Teutscher Merkur,* Nov., 1775, 151–5.
[43] On pp. 134–51.

something better than has been said since the time of Shaftesbury.[44]

2. *Wieland's Poetry of the Graces*

Likewise Wieland's poetry of the Graces reflects the influence of Shaftesbury's *Wit and Humor*. What is this poetry of the Graces? We let Geszner answer the question. "Und du, Wieland! Oft besucht deine Muse ihre Schwester, die ernste Weltweisheit, und holt erhabenen Stoff aus ihren geheimen Kammern, und bildet ihn zu reizenden Grazien."[45] Wieland's poetry of the Graces, therefore, is another manifestation of the good-humored method of presenting the most serious matters, the playful way of telling the truth, the jolly manner of giving utterance to wisdom and philosophy, the cheerful attitude to life in general; all of which, as we have shown, are so characteristic of Shaftesbury's philosophy.

It has always been the function of wisdom, says Wieland, to give to beauty an attendance of Graces, by which the soul becomes more beautiful and more divine.[46] The Graces, therefore, are not only the "Kammermädchen der Schönheit" but also the "Aufwärterinnen der Weisheit."[47] Menander desires to have as his life-companion a maiden reared by the Muses and nursed by the Graces.[48] Agathon represents to himself the Graces as playmates of the Muses, both always accompanied by wisdom. And Aristippus has been taught in Athens to "combine the cheerfulness of the Graces with the earnestness of philosophy."[49]

Without the exhilarating influence of Amor and the Graces everything assumes a gloomy aspect, wisdom becomes pedantry, the gods fall into a state of rudeness and the Muses are unable to achieve anything worth while:

[44] *Ibid.*, the footnote on p. 134.

[45] "Der Wunsch," Salomon Geszner's "Schriften," Zürich, 1795, II, 280.

[46] "Erinnerungen an eine Freundin," the first 6 verses, Göschen, XXVI, 281.

[47] *Teutscher Merkur,* June, 1780, p. 292. "Sympathien," Göschen, XXIX, 61.

[48] "Menander und Glycerion," Letter I, Hempel, X, 8.

[49] "Agathon," IV, 58 and VI, 15.

Minerva, deren Ernst die milden Grazien
Sonst unvermerkt erheiterten,
Ist von Pedanterei nicht länger auszustehen.
Der schöne Bacchus wird, seit Amor sich verbannt,
Mit Satyrn stets bezecht gesehen;
Mars tobt und macht den Sakripant;
Die Musen krähen uns in fremden rauhen Tönen
Kamtschadalische Gesänge vor,
Entsagen, um neu zu sein, dem Schönen,
Betäuben den Verstand und martern unser Ohr.[50]

In the following we have a very emphatic glorification of the beneficial influence of the Graces. Before the time of the Graces, we are told, the Arcadians lacked refinement. Their youths were wild and stormy, their maidens bashful. Their festivals were characterized chiefly by noise and extravagant merriment, which usually ended in general intoxication. The finer feeling of propriety, the nobler love, which is alone worthy of the name, comely jest, witty laughter, lovely inebriation which instead of intoxicating the soul fills it with enthusiasm, lulls it to a sweet oblivion of all cares, makes it incapable of sadness—all these were unknown to the Arcadians before the time of the Graces. The Muses, to be sure, had begun to communicate their gifts to the people, but without the Graces even the Muses are unable to complete the embellishment of man. The Muses must join forces with the Graces before they can make a complete human being out of the creature which was merely started by nature. Through the influence of the Graces a general refinement spreads finally in Arcadia. The maidens are filled with a spirit of benevolence and of gentle cheerfulness. Entirely free from jealousy, each one of them seems to take greater pride in her companion's charms than in her own. Joy, innocence, harmony and love reign among the Arcadians, as long as they remain worthy of the protection of the Graces. Even in Olympus the Graces exert this beneficial influence. Through them the gods themselves lose their austerity and become more refined. Thus,

[50] "Der verklagte Amor" (1774), 5th Canto, lines 147–56, Gruber, XII, 214, or Göschen, III, 189.

Juno becomes "die angenehmste Frau," Jupiter becomes "der gefälligste Ehemann" and the gods in general "die beste Gesellschaft von der Welt."[51]

The sympathy which establishes a firm friendship between amiable creatures made the Muses and Graces the most intimate playmates. The former made an infinite gain thereby, for their earnestness was in need of being mitigated by the charm of the latter. Even the Muse of Philosophy learned from the Graces the art of pleasing and instructing at the same time, for:

> Aus ihrer schönen Hand
> Empfingen die Platon, die Humen
> Und Fontenellen die Blumen,
> Womit sie den steinigen Pfad der fliehenden Wahrheit
> bestreuen.[52]

The influence of the Graces extends also to virtue. The conduct and character of a good and wise man must receive from the Graces an appearance of unconstrained ease. A wise and good man's life, if it is to be a beautiful whole, must be endowed by the Graces with that splendor of consummation by which it seems to become more a gift of nature than a work of art. The virtue of Cato of Utica lacked this Grace, and it is this lack which gives an unpleasant and repulsive appearance to many other presumed virtues. Only under the influence of the Graces wisdom and virtue lose the exaggerated and extravagant, the harsh, the stiff and the awkward; in fact with all these faults virtue and wisdom are undeserving of their names. This is the doctrine, he adds, which Musarion wanted to teach her pupil and was it possible not to understand her?[53]

In "Musarion"[54] Wieland illustrates this philosophy by a living example. He announced the poem as "die Philosophie der Grazien," and such it really is. We must not look here,

[51] "Die Grazien" (1770), Göschen, III, 96, 97, 67, 110, 115, 120.

[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 121–2.

[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 125–6.

[54] Goethe was very much impressed by this work of Wieland. "Musarion," he says, "wirkte am meisten auf mich. Alles was in Wielands Genie plastisch ist, zeigte sich hier aufs Vollkommenste." See "Dichtung und Wahrheit," Hempel, XXI, 54.

however, for any direct didactic system of philosophy. Wieland himself refers only indirectly to the philosophical nature of the poem. On one occasion he calls it a "systematic mixture of philosophy, morality and satire."[55] On another occasion he describes the poem as "ein moralisch-metaphysisches komisches Ding" containing quite an agreeable system of morality.[56] Musarion, the heroine of the poem, teaches not directly through precepts and doctrines but indirectly and in a playful way, which is all the more effective. Musarion herself is a kind of Grace,[57] and love is the medium through which the teaching is done:

Die Liebe war's—Wer lehrt so gut wie sie?[58]

She is always pleasant, cheerful and full of grace; even her censure is charming, and the Muses and Graces form in her a most beautiful alliance:

Gefallend, wenn sie schwieg, bezaubernd, wenn sie sprach;
Darum hätt' ihr Witz auch Wangen ohne Rosen
Beliebt gemacht; ein Witz, dem's nie an Reiz gebrach,
Zu stechen oder liebzukosen
Gleich aufgelegt, doch lächelnd wenn er stach,
Und ohne Gift. Nie sahe man die Musen
Und Grazien in einem schönern Bund,
Nie scherzte die Vernunft aus einem schönern Mund,
Und Amor nie um einen schönern Busen.[59]

[55] Letter to Geszner, July 21, 1766: "Auswahl denkwürdiger Briefe," I, 33.

[56] Letter to Riedel, Feb. 4, 1768, *ibid.*, I, 184.

[57] J. G. Jacobi was also strongly impressed by Musarion's philosophy, which he describes as follows:

Die stille Weisheit, ohne Stolz,
An deren Hand sich Liebesgötter freuen,
Der sie, besteckt mit grünen Meyen,
In Tempelchen von Rosenholz
Den Bogen und den Köcher weihen:
Die feurig ohne Schwärmerei,
Nicht flatterhaft, und dennoch frei,
Wohlthätig unser Herz entzündet;
Mit einem Lächeln oft ergründet,
Was kühner Geister Neid erregt, etc.

See "An aglaja," J. G. Jacobi's "Werke" (Zürich), 1825, II, 22.

[58] "Musarion," line 1425, Pröhle, I, 57.

[59] *Ibid.*, lines 150–8, p. 19.

Musarion's constant cheerfulness and the grace which is spread upon all her words and acts soon dispel Phanias' gloom:

Allein der Dame Witz, die freie Munterkeit,
Die was sie spricht und tut mit Grazie bestreut,
Und dann und wann ein Blick voll Zärtlichkeit,
Den sie, als ob sie sich vergasz, erst auf ihn heftet,
Dann seitwarts glitschen läszt—entkräftet
Den Unmut bald, der seine Stirne kräuszt.[60]

Through her influence Phanias leads a wise and happy life, and his home becomes a genuine temple of the Graces:

Glückselig, weil er's war, nicht weil die Welt es wähnte,
Bringt Phanias in neidenswerter Ruh
Ein unbeneidet Leben zu;
In Freuden, die der unverfälschte Stempel
Der Unschuld und Natur zu echten Freuden prägt.
Der bürgerliche Sturm, der stets Athen bewegt,
Trifft seine Hütte nicht—den Tempel
Der Grazien seitdem Musarion sie ziert.
Bescheidene Gunst, durch ihren Witz geleitet,
Giebt der Natur, so weit sein Landgut sich verbreitet,
Den stillen Reiz, der ohne Schimmer rührt.
Ein Garten, den mit Zephyrn und mit Floren
Pomona sich zum Aufenthalt erkoren;
Ein Hain, worin sich Amor gern verliert,
Wo ernstes Denken oft mit leichtem Scherz sich gattet.[61]

This notion of coupling "ernstes Denken mit leichtem Scherz," the notion which constitutes the leading theme of Shaftesbury's "wit and humor" philosophy, underlies, as we just had occasion to see, Wieland's poetry of the Graces. Nobody else, he declares, loves "die mit den Grazien scherzende Philosophie" better than he.[62] And "Musarion," the leading representative of his *Grazien-Dichtung,* he describes as a work which more than any other of his works portrays his own taste and philosophy.[63] Shaftesbury's "wit and humor"

60 *Ibid.,* lines 769–74, p. 38.
61 *Ibid.,* lines 1392–1406, p. 56.
62 *Teutscher Merkur,* Jan., 1773, p. 32.
63 Letter to Riedel, June 2, 1768; "Auswahl denkwürdiger Briefe," I, 186.

philosophy is closely connected with a bright and cheerful attitude to life in general. This is also true of Wieland's *Grazien-Philosophie.* "Never," he declares "with the help of God and of my sound common sense, will I have any other philosophy than that of the Graces. I examine everything in the mildest light."[64]

This brings us to Wieland's life, which is a living example of the doctrines represented by him. Goethe's remark about Wieland, "Mensch und Schriftsteller hatten sich in ihm ganz durchdrungen: er dichtete als ein Lebender und lebte dichtend,"[65] is also justified in this case. Just as Wieland's poetry was a *Grazien-Dichtung,* so his life was a *Grazien-Leben,* if we may use such a term. It is precisely the kind of life which is led by his heroine, the serene and cheerful Musarion. Her philosophy, he says, her taste and principles, are those according to which he lives. The mild aspect in which she examines things, this equilibrium between enthusiasm and indifference, this playful pleasantry with which she distinguishes between the true on one hand and the exaggerated, improper and fantastic on the other, this indulgence toward the imperfections of human nature—"alle diese Züge sind die Lineamenten meines eigenen Geistes und Herzens."[66] To use the words of Wieland's biographer, J. G. Gruber, the Graces were "die steten Gefährtinnen seines Lebens."[67]

Finally we have Goethe's testimony in his memorial oration on Wieland. Wieland's life, says Goethe, had always been bright and serene. He not only lived, Goethe adds, but died in this serene and cheerful atmosphere. To make the memorial service more consistent with Wieland's life, Goethe then would make the occasion of Wieland's death an occasion of joy and cheer, in order that it may appear "so froh und klar als das Leben unseres Freundes."[68]

64 Quoted by Heinrich Döring in "Chr. M. Wieland. Ein biographisches Denkmal" (Sangerhausen, 1840), p. 193. The words are quoted from a letter of Wieland, but Döring has no information as to when or to whom the letter is written.

65 "Zum Andenken des edlen Dichters, Bruders und Freundes Wieland," Hempel, XXVII², 57.

66 The Foreword to "Musarion," Pröhle, I, 10.

67 "Wieland geschildert von Gruber," II, 536.

68 Hempel, XXVII², 54–55.

CHAPTER VI

Miscellaneous

1. *Optimism*

Shaftesbury's optimism is also reflected in Wieland, who is convinced that the good predominates; he is filled with admiration and enthusiasm for the beauty and harmony of the universe in general and of human life in particular. Nature, he says, has made our brains and senses instruments of pleasure. If it had only been possible nature would not have subjected us to any pain whatever. But even as matters stand now, pain has no access to us and our happiness is seldom interrupted, if we only obey nature's laws.[1] The good predominates in the world, for otherwise the creator would not tolerate the world a single moment.[2]

But the feature which above all stamps Wieland's optimism as Shaftesburian is his Shaftesbury-like enthusiasm for the beauty, order and harmony of the universe. The harmony of the universe is considered by Agathodämon as analogous to the harmony of charming music. The manifold relations of the various movements and the operations of the various creatures are all, in spite of so many real and apparent dissonances, most indissolubly combined and harmoniously united with one another. Charming music, therefore, gives to a noble soul a vivid conception of this perfect harmony of things, "von dieser aus unendlich vielfachen Tönen, Stimmen und Accorden durch den Geist der Ordnung und Liebe zusammengesetzten Symphonie des Weltalls."[3] So is Agathon convinced of the wisdom and goodness manifested in the individual parts of creation

1 "Der goldne Spiegel," VII, 71.
2 "Sympathien," Göschen, XXIX, 15.
3 "Agathodämon," Hempel, XXIII, 191–2.

and in the plan and general economy[4] of the whole. He is also convinced that the stedfast contemplation of this wisdom and goodness is an unfailing means of becoming himself wise and good.[5]

The harmony found in the universe is manifested even to a higher degree in the fate and life of man. While beholding the beauty of nature we must remember that we are her children, that all the other works of nature seem to be merely the preliminary exercise by which she prepares herself for her masterpiece, *i. e.,* man; that in him she takes the deepest interest.[6] A superficial comparison of the various creatures may lead to the conclusion that nature takes the least care of the preservation of man. Thus, he is naturally unprotected against cold and heat and is incapable of supporting himself without long assistance from others. The instinct, which is the innate guide of the lower animals, is weak, unsteady and inadequate in man. But for all these apparent disadvantages man is sufficiently compensated by his reason and taste for beauty: "Warum alles das, als weil sie (nature) ihn durch die Vernunft und die Empfindung des Schönen, die er vor jenen (animals) voraus hat, fähig gemacht hat diesen Abgang zu ersetzen?" Nature has left to man himself the continuation of her work. Man, therefore, must in a way become his own "second creator," but his life acquires a greater splendor thereby.[7]

This reminds us directly of the conversation between Philocles and Theocles in Shaftesbury's "Moralists." Philocles there cites a few advantages which the lower animal has over man, but Theocles maintains his optimistic view by asserting that men are in no need of these advantages possessed by the

[4] Shaftesbury also employs the term economy in connection with the entire system of the universe or the general nature of a creature. Other instances where Wieland uses the Shaftesburian term are: "Agathon," VI, 152 and 308; "Aufsätze über die französische Revolution," Hempel, XXXIV, 103.

[5] "Agathon," V, 20.

[6] "Der goldne Spiegel," VII, 74.

[7] "Koxkox und Kikequetzel," Hempel, XXXI, 35 ff., or "Beiträge zur geheimen Geschichte des menschlichen Verstandes und Herzens" (of which "Koxkox und Kikequetzel" is a part), I, 91 ff.

animals: "Where was the occasion or use? Where the necessity? Have they (men) not what is better in another kind? Have they not reason and discourse? Does not this instruct them? What need of the other."[8]

2. *Doctrine of Divinity*

Also in the doctrine of divinity Wieland adheres to Shaftesbury. He also uses the teleological proof for the existence of a Supreme Being and likewise conceives of God as the world-soul. Thus Archytas who, as we have seen, is in many respects modelled after Shaftesbury, declares that a universe in which there is such excellent adaptation of means to ends, such beautiful simplicity in the midst of the most infinite variety, such harmony amidst so many different elements, such uniformity along with this everlasting change of things—that such a universe must be the city of God where justice and wisdom prevail, the lasting effect of an original and fundamental power, the visible manifestation of an unlimited mind.[9] Shaftesbury likewise declares that "having recognized this uniform consistent fabrick and owned the universal system we must of consequence acknowledge a universal mind."[10] Like Shaftesbury, Wieland is also filled with enthusiasm for the notion of the divine spirit. The soul, he declares, expands at the mere conception of the infinite spirit. This conception has and should have the same relation to our soul as the sun to the world. It should give light and warmth to the soul and bring into maturity every virtue and perfection.[11]

And then Wieland develops the Shaftesburian conception of God as the world-soul. The beauty of nature and the harmony of things, we are told, are manifestations of what we call the "being of beings, the king of spirits and the soul of the world."[12] The world is too excellent not to be the work of a Supreme Being. The Supreme Being, to be sure, is invisible to our physical eyes, but is seen by the mind's eye. For just

8 "Characteristics," II, 300–308.
9 "Agathon," VI, 313.
10 "Characteristics," II, 290.
11 "Der goldne Spiegel," VIII, 93.
12 "Araspes und Panthea," Göschen, XXVII, 54.

as soon as a man is able to perceive the order and harmony, the wise laws and benevolent purposes of nature, he cannot doubt the existence of a supreme wisdom and goodness, or the "common soul of the whole," any more than he can doubt the existence of his own soul, which is no more visible to him than the *soul of the universe*.[13]

3. *Dialogue*

Wieland is interested in the technic and style of Shaftesbury's compositions and praises them again and again. Praising the systematic treatment of Shaftesbury's "Inquiry" and "Moralists," he says: "Shaftesbury hat gewuszt was Methode ist."[14] And his review of the German translation of Shaftesbury of 1776 contains the statement that "Shaftesbury bleibt uns allezeit ein Muster feiner Composition."[15] But above all Wieland is fond of Shaftesbury's form of the dialogue. K. A. Böttiger reports Wieland as saying—in a conversation of Feb. 6, 1799—that Plato's sophists reply like stupid fellows, that Lucian made an advance in the form of the dialogue, but that Shaftesbury attained the greatest proficiency in it; for with him every one of the speakers is in full earnest.[16] Again, in his review of Galliani's "Dialogues sur le commerce des blés," he regards the work as one of the most excellent masterpieces and models of dialogue and considers no other modern dialogue worthy of being ranked with Galliani's work, except Shaftesbury's "Moralists."[17] And he himself writes "Timoklea," his first dialogue, hoping that "das Beste wozu dieser miszlungene Versuch in der dialogistischen Schreibart dienen könnte, wäre, wenn er die Kenner veranlaszte, die Lehren des Shaftesbury über diese Art von Werken des Geistes unter den Deutschen bekannter zu machen."[18]

[13] "Der goldne Spiegel," VIII, 90.
[14] "Ausgewählte Briefe," I, 280–1.
[15] *Teutscher Merkur*, Feb., 1777, p. 202.
[16] "Literarische Zustände und Zeitgenossen," Leipzig, 1838, I, 239.
[17] *Teutscher Merkur*, Dec., 1800, p. 245 or Hempel, XXXVI, 182.
[18] Cf. Foreword to "Timoklea" in "Prosaische Schriften," III, 162.

4. *"Tablature of the Judgment of Hercules"*

Wieland did not speculate about art as such, and yet he was interested in Shaftesbury's "Tablature of the Judgment of Hercules," the work containing Shaftesbury's artistic speculations. In a note to "Der neue Amadis" (1771) he says: "As a commentary to the painting ('The Choice of Hercules') we have the 'Tablature of the Judgment of Hercules,' or the seventh treatise in the Earl of Shaftesbury's 'Characteristics,' of which Thurneisen and Le Grand in Basel have given us a beautiful new edition in their valuable collection of the best English authors."[19] And in one of the notes to his translation of the "Sokratische Gespräche" (1799), he speaks of Shaftesbury's "Judgment of Hercules" as being "in mehr als einer Rücksicht lesenswürdig."[20] And then he himself writes an operette "Die Wahl des Herkules" (1773), which is based on the same general episode as Shaftesbury's work.

5. *"Advice to an Author"*

Also in his capacity as author and literary critic Shaftesbury exerts an influence on Wieland. Shaftesbury's views on literary art are contained in his "Advice to an Author," and Wieland's interest in this work is attested, as we have already seen, by his frequent quotations from and allusions to it.[21] Undoubtedly he began the study of Shaftesbury with the "Advice to an Author," for there was a German translation of it as early as 1738. From Shaftesbury's "Advice" Wieland learns more than one valuable lesson. Thus, when he tells us, in 1758, that he had learned from Shaftesbury the significance of being an author,[22] he certainly refers to the inspiration received from the "Advice to an Author." On March 15, 1755, he writes to Schinz: "Meine Zeit wird wohl angewandt, wenn ich gleich nicht immer schreibe und drucken lasse. Musz man

19 Göschen, XV, 293. This note must have been written by Wieland in the second edition of "Der neue Amadis" (1794). It could not have been written in the first edition of 1771, since Wieland refers to the Thurneisen edition of the "Characteristics," which did not appear until 1790.

20 *Attisches Museum*, III, 131.

21 Cf. Chap. I, p, 8, note 13; p. 9, note 16; p. 17, note 58; p. 18, notes 59 and 62.

22 Cf. Chap. I, p. 7, note 4.

nicht wieder lesen und denken, Ideen sammeln und rangieren and bearbeiten, ehe man wieder schreiben kann? *Voyés Schaftesbury's Advice for an Author.*"[23] Here Wieland undoubtedly alludes to the emphasis laid by Shaftesbury upon the necessity of "that main preliminary of self-study and *inward converse,* which we have found so much wanting in the authors of our time. That their composition and vein of writing may be natural and free, they should settle matters, in the first place, with *themselves.* And having gained a mastery here they may easily with the help of their genius and a right use of *art* command their *audience* and establish a *good taste.*"[24]

Again, in one of the "Sympathien" he calls Amyntor's attention to the fact that nowadays the literary art has become considerably degraded; that whereas the literary profession was formerly practiced only by enlightened minds whose main purpose was to ascertain the true and noble and beautiful, people write nowadays either because they wish to see their names in print, or because it is fashionable, or for the purpose of earning a livelihood. The author then urges Amyntor to help to restore the noble profession to its proper position and to make it again only a prerogative of those who are by nature equipped to be oracles of truth. "Willst du nicht helfen, Amyntor, diesem erhabenen Beruf seinen alten Platz wieder zu verschaffen? Willst du nicht einer von den wenigen sein, für welche der weise Shaftesbury seine Erinnerungen nicht umsonst gegeben hat?"[25] To the word *Erinnerungen* Wieland attaches the following note: "*Advice to an Author,* im ersten Teile seiner *Characteristics.*"[26]

Oct. 18, 1756, Wieland suspects that Zimmermann must have read Shaftesbury's "Advice" and that he must have retained in his mind Shaftesbury's demands of symmetry, proportion, regular development and the like; that Zimmermann was displeased with his own work "Über die Einsamkeit," because he considered it as falling short of Shaftesbury's de-

[23] "Ausgewählte Briefe," I, 162–3. The italicized phrase is given as in Wieland.

[24] "Advice to an Author," I, 277.

[25] Göschen, XXIX, 55.

[26] *Ibid.,* p. 404.

mands.[27] And two years later he criticises Zimmermann's book on solitude and accompanies the criticism with the following remark: As for the rest I believe that an author can himself best judge the plan of his work and that he is justified in arranging his composition as he pleases, provided he is skillful enough to create well-shaped bodies and no abortions. "Sie," he continues, "kennen Shaftesburys *Advice to an Author;* dieser erschöpft meines Bedünkens alles, was sich davon sagen läszt."[28]

Finally, in 1780, Wieland himself writes in the *Merkur* "Noch ein kleiner *Advice to an Author.*"[29] He attacks here the habit acquired by German authors of misspelling well-known Greek names. The contents of this brief article, to be sure, have no connection with Shaftesbury's "Advice to an Author," but that Wieland certainly had Shaftesbury in mind at the time is quite obvious from the title of the article.

6. *Soliloquy*

We come finally to the so-called doctrine of soliloquy. Shaftesbury urges self-investigation or soliloquy, as he calls it, upon authors, orators, upon all men. Every man, he claims, has two souls, two natures, a reasonable and an unreasonable one. Man can and should divide himself into two and thus converse with himself. As an illustration Shaftesbury then, without mentioning any names, tells in brief the episode of Xenophon's Araspes and Panthea.[30] Shaftesbury's doctrine of soliloquy finds an exact parallel in Wieland. Thus he recognizes a proclivity "zum Forschen in sich selbst" as one of the necessary qualifications of a poet.[31] The wise and virtuous man likes to contemplate himself and to converse with his thoughts. He analyzes his ideas and studies his heart —and "c'est dans les entretiens solitaires qu'il découvre les enchantements trompeurs de l'imagination et les moyens de

27 "Ausgewählte Briefe," I, 222–3.
28 *Ibid.*, I, 282.
29 July, pp. 45–8.
30 "Characteristics," I, 176–84.
31 "Sendschreiben an einen jungen Dichter" (1782), Göschen, XXXIII, 270.

s'en délivrer."[32] He makes his Agathon engage in frequent self-converse and compliments his hero on this habit of soliloquizing. We must not, he says, consider this as in any way improper, for no less a fine man of the world than Horace was accustomed to converse with himself. It is all the worse for us if on certain occasions we do not soliloquize as readily as Agathon. We should do very well to learn from him this habit.[33]

On another occasion we read that real men, such as we find them in daily life, will always have two souls, a selfish and an unselfish one. Then the author accompanies this remark by the following note: "S. Xenofons *Cyropädie* oder, wem es gelegner ist, Shaftesbury's *Characteristics,* Vol. I, page 152 u.f., in der neuen Baselschen Ausgabe," etc.[34]

In connection with the question of abolishing hereditary nobility in France, Wieland supports the affirmative side of the question by means of a soliloquy. We know, he says, from Shaftesbury's "Characteristics" that all soliloquies are based upon the fact that every man has two souls, a reasonable and an unreasonable, and that these two often conflict with each other.[35] I do not know, he continues, what Montmorency[36] had actually said in the national assembly, but if I had to settle the question I should converse with myself in the following manner. And then the author develops a conversation between the *vernünftige* and *unvernünftige Seele* and arrives in the end at the desirable conclusion.[37] He finally summarizes his approval of the Shaftesburian doctrine in the following terms: "Horaz war ein groszer Liebhaber von diesen Selbstgesprächen, und der sinnreichste und politeste Philosoph unseres Jahrhunderts, der Graf Anton Shaftesbury, empfiehlt sie mit Recht

[32] "Die Züricher Abschiedsrede" (1759), *Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturgeschichte,* 1889, II, 588.

[33] "Agathon," IV, 76; V, 167.

[34] Sendschreiben an Prof. Eggers (1792), Hempel, XXXIV, 169. The passage referred to is found in our edition of the "Characteristics," I, 184.

[35] "Über die Abschaffung des Erbadels in Frankreich" (1790), Hempel, XXXIV, 95.

[36] Montmorency was a French nobleman who was very active in behalf of abolishing hereditary titles of nobility. Cf. *ibid.,* p. 94.

[37] *Ibid.,* pp. 95–102.

als ein vortreffliches Hausmittel, unsere innerliche Oekonomie auf einen guten Fusz zu setzen und dem vernünftigen Teil unseres Selbst über den unvernünftigen das gehörige Übergewicht zu verschaffen."[38]

Conclusion

Shaftesbury's influence on Wieland begins as early as 1752 and extends through the entire life-work of the poet. His knowledge of Shaftesbury, at the beginning somewhat hazy and blended with Platonic philosophy, soon becomes clearer, so that by 1755 the English philosopher is a distinct factor in Wieland's intellectual life. Shaftesbury then figures very prominently in Wieland's transition from the first to the second period of his career. The large concentrated study of Shaftesbury seems to take place in 1758. But the Shaftesburian influence predominates above all in Wieland's works written after the first period of his career. It will be remembered that "Musarion" (1768), "Die Grazien" (1770), "Beiträge zur geheimen Geschichte des menschlichen Verstandes und Herzens" (1770), "Der goldne Spiegel" (1772), "Agathon" (1766–94), "Aristipp" (1800–2), are Wieland's great store-houses of Shaftesburian philosophy.

Wieland was a student of the English in general. He was interested in and influenced by Sterne, Fielding, Spenser and Richardson. To none other, however, he owed as much as to Shaftesbury, in whom he was able to find the healthy philosophy of the ancients and the *Aufklärung* of his own age. Goethe was right in finding Wieland and Shaftesbury "vollkommen ähnlich" and in declaring that "was der Engländer verständig lehrt und wünscht, das weisz der Deutsche in Versen und Prosa dichterisch und rednerisch auszuführen."[39]

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 102–3.

[39] "Zum Andenken des edeln Dichters, Bruders und Freundes Wieland," Hempel edition, XXVII², 60–1.

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A. Works and Letters

"Characteristics," Baskerville edition of 1773 in 3 volumes. Vol. I: Letter concerning Enthusiasm (addressed to Lord Somers and published separately in London, 1708), Sensus Communis or Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humor (appeared in May, 1709), Soliloquy or Advice to an Author (London, 1710); Vol. II: Inquiry concerning Virtue and Merit (the work was published surreptitiously without the knowledge of the author, during his absence in Holland. Shaftesbury mentions the fact in "Letters to a Young Man at the University," Letter VIII), The Moralists or a Philosophical Rhapsody (January, 1709); Vol. III: Miscellaneous Reflections (the only treatise not published previous to the first edition of the "Characteristics"), Notion of the Tablature of the Judgment of Hercules (appeared first in 1713), Letter concerning Design (appeared first in the 2d edition of the "Characteristics").

"Letters to a Young Man at the University," London, 1716.

Shaftesbury's Letters in "Original Letters of Locke, Algernon Sydney and Shaftesbury," by F. Forster, London, 1830.

Shaftesbury's Letters in B. Rand: Life, Unpublished Letters and Philosophical Regimen of Shaftesbury.

B. Editions of the "Characteristics"[1]

Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, 1711, three volumes (anonymous).

Characteristics, The Second Edition Corrected, 1714.

Characteristics, The Third Edition, 1723.

Characteristics, The Fourth Edition, 1727.

Characteristics, The Fifth Edition, Corrected, 1732. (Editions 2–5 printed by John Darby, London.)

Characteristics, London, 1733 (reprint).

Characteristics, The Sixth Edition, 1737. Printed by James Purser, London.

Characteristics, 1743–5 (printer and printing place not mentioned).

Characteristics, 1749.

Characteristics, 1758. Glasgow, 4 volumes. The 4th volume contains the letters which appeared up to date and the Introduction to Whichcote's sermons.

Characteristics, The Fifth Edition, Birmingham, printed by John Baskerville, 1773.

Characteristics, Basel, 1790. Printed by J. J. Tourneisen and D. L. Legrand. The 1st volume contains the letters published up to date.

Characteristics, 1870, London. Edited with marginal analysis, notes and illustrations by Rev. Walter M. Hatch. Only the 1st volume appeared.

Characteristics, Edited, with introduction and notes, by John M. Robertson in 2 volumes. London, 1900.

C. German Translations of Shaftesbury's Works

Venzky: Unterredungen mit sich selbst. 1738. Magdeburg.

Spalding: Die Sittenlehrer, Berlin, 1745.

Spalding: Untersuchung über die Tugend. Berlin, 1747.

Wichmann: Anton Ashley Cooper, Grafens v. Shaftesbury Characteristics. Leipzig, 1768. The translation is incomplete.

[1] For the bibliographical data I am indebted to P. Ziertmann "Beiträge zur Kenntnis Shaftesburys" (*Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, XVII (neue Folge, X), 1904, p. 483 ff.

Letters to a Young Man at the University. Translated, Halle, 1772.

Hölty and Bentzler: Des Grafen von Shaftesbury philosophische Werke aus dem Englischen übersetzt. Leipzig, 1776–9.

Über Verdienst und Tugend, ein Versuch von Shaftesbury (translated from the French version of Diderot), 1780, Leipzig.

P. Ziertmann: Translation of the "Inquiry," 1905.

Toland, John: Christianity not Mysterious. London, 1702.

Vater, Paul: Pope und Shaftesbury, Dissertation, Halle, 1897.

Wagenseil: Wie kam Wieland zum Mysticismus und Pietismus. Und wie geschah es, dasz er in der Folge wieder auf die Gegenseite geriet. *Literarisches Almanach,* IV (1830), 227–46.

Walter, Karl: Chronologie der Werke Wielands 1750–60, Dissertation, Greifswald, 1904.

Wieland-Literatur in Deutschland 1751–1851. Cassel (Ernst Balde), 1852.

Walzel, Oscar F.: Shaftesbury und das deutsche Geistesleben des 18 Jahrhunderts. *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift,* 1909, pp. 416–37.

Walzel, Oscar F.: Introduction to Schillers Säcular-Ausgabe, Vol. XI.

Walzel, O. F.: Introduction to Goethe's Jubiläums-Ausgabe, Vol. XXXVI.

Warburton, William: Dedication to Free-Thinkers, in his "Divine Legation of Moses," 5th edition, London, 1766.

Whittaker, Thomas: The Neo-Platonists, Cambridge, 1901.

Windelband, Wilhelm: Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie, 4th edition, Tübingen, 1907, Parts V and VI.

Wolfstieg, A.: Englischer und französischer Deismus und deutsche Aufklärung. *Monatshefte der Comenius Gesellschaft,* XVII, 137–47.

Wieland, Christoph Martin.

A. Wieland's Works

Sämmtliche Werke, J. G. Gruber, Leipzig, 1824–28, 50 volumes.

Sämmtliche Werke, G. J. Göschen, Leipzig, 1839–40, 36 volumes.

Sämmtliche Werke, G. Hempel, Berlin, no date (1879 ff.), 40 volumes.

Wielands Werke, H. Pröhle, Volumes 51–6 in *Deutsche National Literatur.*

Prosaische Schriften, Zürich, 1758, 3 parts.

Beiträge zur geheimen Geschichte des menschlichen Verstandes und Herzens, Leipzig, 1770, 2 parts.

Dschinnistan, Winterthur, 1786–9.

Hermann, edited with an introduction by F. Muncker, *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale,* VI (1882).

Vierzehn Gedichte von C. M. Wieland. Mitgeteilt von Dr. P. v. Hoffmann-Wellenhof; in *Archiv für das Studium der Neuern Sprachen und Literaturen,* edited by L. Herrig, LXVI (1881), 49–76.

Der Teutsche Merkur, Weimar, 1773–1789.

Der Neue Teutsche Merkur, 1790–1810 (edited with the assistance of K. L. Reinhold and K. A. Böttiger).

Das Attische Museum, Zürich and Leipzig, 1797–1803.

Das Neue Attische Museum, 1805–9 (edited with the assistance of J. J. Hottinger and F. Jacobs).

Horazens Briefe übersetzt; Leipzig, 1816, in 2 parts.

Horazens Satiren übersetzt; Leipzig, 1819, in 2 parts.

Ciceros sämmtliche Briefe übersetzt und erläutert. 7 volumes, Zürich. Only the first 5 volumes, 1808–12, are by Wieland. (The last two, 1818 and 1821, are by Gräter.)

Luciam from the Greek with comments and illustrations of Wieland and others, by William Tooke, London, 1820, 2 volumes.

Einige Nachrichten von den Lebens-Umständen des Herrn Wilhelm Shakespear. At the close of the 8th volume of Wieland's translation of Shakespear (Shake-

spear Theatralische Werke aus dem Englischen übersetzt von Wieland. Zürich, 1762–66).

B. Wieland's Letters

Ausgewählte Briefe von Wieland an verschiedene Freunde, 1751–1810. 4 parts, Zürich, 1815.

Auswahl denkwürdiger Briefe, edited by L. Wieland, Wien, 1815.

Wieland und Reinhold: by Robert Keil, Leipzig and Berlin, 1885. Wieland's letters are in Part II, 71–276.

Karl Wagner: Briefe an Merck von Goethe, Herder, Wieland und anderen bedeutenden Zeitgenossen. Darmstadt, 1835. The book contains 60 letters of Wieland.

Seuffert, B.: Wielandbriefe, in the *Marbacher Schillerbuch* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1905), pp. 293–304.

Hirzel, L.: Ungedruckte Briefe Wielands an Lavater, *Schnorrs Archiv,* IV, 300–22.

Pröhle, H.: Aus dem Briefwechsel zwischen Wieland und Gleim, *ibid.,* V, 191–232.

C. Schüddekopf: Briefe Herders und Wielands, *ibid.,* XV, 254–64.

J. Keller: Ungedruckte Briefe Wielands an Isaac Iselin, *ibid.,* XIII, 187–219.

Joh. Crüger: Zwei Wieland-Briefe (to Breitinger); *ibid.,* 220–8.

C. Schüddekopf: Briefe an Eschenburg; *ibid.,* 498–507.

K. W. Böttiger: Aus Wielands Briefen an Böttiger (K. 'A.), in Literarische Zustände und Zeitgenossen, II, 153–87.

Xenophon: Xenophons Erinnerungen an Sokrates. German translation, by Ch. E. Finkh, in volumes I and II of *Griechische Prosaiker in neuen Übersetzungen,* Stuttgart, 1827.

Sokratische Gespräche aus Xenofons denkwürdigen Nachrichten; translation by Wieland: *Attisches Museum,* III[1], 296–336.

Xenofons Gastmahl; translation by Wieland: *Attisches Museum,* IV, 78–148.

Versuch über das Xenofontische Gastmahl; Wieland: *ibid.,* IV², 99–124.

Zart, Gustav: Einflusz der englischen Philosophen seit Bacon auf die deutsche Philosophie des 18 Jahrhunderts. Berlin, 1881.

Ziertmann, Paul: Beiträge zur Kenntnis Shaftesburys, *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie,* XVII (neue Folge, X), Berlin, 1904, pp. 480–99.

Zimmermann, Robert: Geschichte der Aesthetik als philosophische Wissenschaft (in 2 parts, Wien, 1858). Part I, the sections entitled: Plato, Plotin, Die Engländer.

Chronological List of Wieland's Works

The following is by no means a complete list of the writings of our extremely prolific author. Some of the minor works, to which I had no occasion to refer, are excluded from the list.

1751 Die Natur der Dinge.
Lobgesang auf die Liebe.
Hermann.

1752 Moralische Briefe.
Anti-Ovid.
Erzählungen (Balsora, Zemin und Gulindy, Serena, Der Unzufriedene, Melinde, Selim und Selima).
Der Frühling.
Hymne (auf die Grösze und die Güte Gottes).
Schreiben an Herrn . . . von der Würde und der Bestimmung eines schönen Geistes.

1753 Briefe von Verstorbenen an hinterlassene Freunde.
Der geprüfte Abraham.
Plan von einer neuen Art von Privat-Unterweisung.
Hymne auf Gott.
Hymne auf die Sonne.
Erinnerungen an eine Freundin.

1754 Ode auf die Geburt des Erlösers.
Ode auf die Auferstehung des Erlösers.
Betrachtungen über den Menschen.

Gesicht des Mirza.
Philosophie als Kunst zu leben und Heilkunst der Seele betrachtet.

1755 Hymnen auf die Allgegenwart und Gerechtigkeit Gottes.
Empfindungen eines Christen.
Gesicht von einer Welt unschuldiger Menschen.
Theages oder Unterredung von Schönheit und Liebe.
(In his "Prolegomena zu einer Wieland-Ausgabe," 1904, p. 49, Seuffert puts the work "several years before 1758.")
Sympathien.
Timoklea. Ein Gespräch über scheinbare und wahre Schönheit.

1756 Plan einer Akademie zu Bildung des Verstandes und Herzens junger Leute.

1758 Lady Johanna Gray.

1759 Cyrus.
Rede beim Abschied von den Züricher Schülern.

1760 Araspes und Panthea.
Clementina von Porretta.
Eine Unterredung. Lysias und Eubulus.

1762–6 Shakespear Theatralische Werke. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt.

1764 Die Abenteuer des Don Sylvio von Rosalva.

1765 Komische Erzählungen.

1766–94 Geschichte des Agathon.

1768 Idris und Zenide.
Musarion.

1769–70 Die Dialogen des Diogenes von Sinope.

1770 Beiträge zur geheimen Geschichte des menschlichen Verstandes und Herzens.
Koxkox und Kikequetzel.
Combabus.
Die Grazien.

1771 Der neue Amadis.

1772 Gedanken über eine alte Aufschrift.
Der goldne Spiegel.
Aurora, ein Singspiel.

1773–89 *Der Teutsche Merkur.*
1773 Alceste. Ein Singspiel.
Die Wahl des Herkules. Ein lyrisches Drama.
1774 Der verklagte Amor.
1774–81 Die Abderiten.
1775 Der Mönch und die Nonne.
Das Urteil des Midas. Ein Komisches Singspiel.
Geschichte des weisen Danischmende.
Unterredungen zwischen W . . . und dem Pfarrer zu . . .
Das Verhältnis des Angenehmen und Schönen zum Nützlichen.
1776 Ein Wintermärchen.
Liebe um Liebe.
Was ist Wahrheit?
1777 Geron der Adelich.
Betrachtungen über die Abnahme des menschlichen Geschlechts.
Das Sommermärchen.
1778 Der Vogelsang, oder die drei Lehren.
Rosamund. Ein Singspiel.
Hann und Gulpenhee.
Schach Lolo.
1779 Pervonte oder die Wünsche.
Pandora.
1780 Oberon.
1782 Horazens Briefe übersetzt.
1782–4 Sendschreiben an einen jungen Dichter.
1783 Clelia und Sinibald.
Die Aeropatomanie.
1784 Die Aeronauten.
1786 Horazens Satyren übersetzt.
1786–9 Dschinnistan (select fairy tales, partly composed by Wieland, partly translated and remodelled).
1787 Eine Lustreise in die Unterwelt.
1788 Gedanken von der Freiheit über Gegenstände des Glaubens zu philosophiren.
1788–9 Lucians sämmtliche Werke. Aus dem Griechischen übersetzt.

1789 Moral der Natur.
1789–1800 Aufsätze über die französische Revolution.
1789–93 Göttergespräche.
1790 Geschichte der Troglodyten.
Gespräche in Elysium.
1790–1810 *Der Neue Teutsche Merkur.*
1791 Geheime Geschichte des Philosophen Peregrinus Proteus.
1795 Die Wasserkufe.
1797–1803 *Das Attische Museum.*
1798 Gespräche unter vier Augen.
1799 Sokratische Gespräche aus Xenofons denkwürdigen Nachrichten von Sokrates. (Translation in the *Attisches Museum.*)
Agathodämon.
1800–2 Aristipp und einige seiner Zeitgenossen.
1802 Xenofons Gastmahl. Übersetzt von dem Herausgeber des A. Museums. (Wieland's translations are published for the greater part in the *Attisches Museum* and *Neues Attisches Museum.*)
1803 Menander und Glycerion.
1804 Krates und Hipparchia.
1805–9 *Das Neue Attische Museum.*
1805 Euthanasia. Drei Gespräche über das Leben nach dem Tode.
Das Hexameron von Rosenhain.
1808–12 Ciceros sämmtliche Briefe übersetzt und erläutert.

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This Index contains all the proper names and the titles of the works of Wieland and Shaftesbury as far as the bibliography. Whereever names are found indented they belong to the particular works of Wieland in question.

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[1] Whenever the names Cleomenes and Horatio occur, they designate the two heroes of Mandeville's "Five Dialogues between Horatio and Cleomenes."

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201-6503

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